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Negro Leadership Since Washington

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As the figure of Booker Taliaferro Washington recedes from contemporary vision, appreciation of the true significance of the man becomes more a matter of careful estimation than of partisan bias. Throughout the period in which he wielded his greatest influence as conciliator of the two races in the South, he was the only one of his race who possessed a personal following. He alone represented a well defined school of opinion which was supported by the rank and file of the race.

It has often been said of Washington that he was the mouthpiece, not so much of his own race, as of the whites who looked more liberally toward a solution for the problem of the South and the Nation. There is a modicum of truth in the statement. Washington never could have attained the position which was his at the time of his death—never could have appeared to so large a portion of his people as the apostle of their salvation, had he not gained, early in his career, the confidence of the white people of both sections. His very concurrence with the views of Grady, of Weatherford, and of other southern leaders who sought an equable end to the difficulties confronting the thinking elements of the two peoples, enabled him to reach his humble fellows and to give to them a word of hope. The striking personality which was his main source of strength, perhaps in greater degree even than his sincere and honest intellect, found its expression along those avenues opened up by association and agreement with the views of his white contemporaries.

And if we are justified in saying that the relations which Washington sustained to his white associates and confreres were

responsible for the degree of authority with which he appealed to his people, it is at the same time true that they were responsible for a considerable amount of the distrust and suspicion with which Washington was viewed by Negroes of the opposition school—those who regarded the program of industrial training and the manual arts with contempt. Washington was seen by this group as the Judas of his race, who for mere popularity and power had betrayed his people to those who had previously enslaved them.

It is characteristic of this group that not until the last years of Washington's life did it develop a single and unchallenged leadership. Dubois, Trotter, and others as able if not as vociferous, comprised this latter element. All were potential leaders, but the *clique* which each gathered around him was unworthy of comparison with the millions who subscribed to the program of Washington. Rebellious, protestant, with many men of ability, but with none of sufficient personality or resources to attract the attention of a large mass of Negro followers, they were obliged to protest against the inequalities which formed the subject of their message without the soul-satisfying response that was the recompense of Washington throughout his life.

Another factor is important in connection with this phase of Negro leadership. Washington could assume the position of leader because he reached the Negro masses effectively. His name was the synonym of achievement throughout the "black belt." Pulpits were occupied by men whose education and training were out of tune with the sentiments echoed in the writings of Dubois and others, and as a result they turned a deaf ear to the cry of revolt and depended upon Washington for their theme. Negro journalism was feeble and uninfluential, save in certain isolated instances where Negro sheets of little influence enjoyed a limited, though enthusiastic and devoted, circulation.

As a direct result of this control of the facilities then existant for obtaining wide publicity, the message of Washington was heard and accepted throughout the South. It must also be remembered that Washington never could have monopolized so effectually Negro leadership had not the masses of Negroes

been confined to the South. During the period from 1900-1910, when Washington received by far the largest amount of recognition, the number of Negroes even in such large centers as New York and Chicago was comparatively small and unimportant. They were not sufficiently numerous to constitute a clientele such as is necessary for the consummation of potentialities for leadership. The Negroes of the South were to be reached in only one fashion, through direct and personal contact; and conditions conspired to enable Washington to supply this contact, with the end that a veritable "legend" sprang up embodying in the mind of the Negro masses their concept of the man.

In addition to all of these factors, which made for the strengthening of Washington's claims to the title of leader of his race, was one of importance in insuring their permanence. This was the constantly increasing number of disciples who went out from Tuskegee to spread the gospel of the school and its founder. Loyal, intelligent, and deeply imbued with a conviction of the fundamental sanity of Washington's program, Tuskegee graduates were a unit in advancing the name of their teacher as a veritable man of God. And this influence was not an inconsiderable one; because, for a long time, the only efficient Negro teachers throughout the South were products of Tuskegee and Hampton. Feeling the zeal of their inspired idol urging them to great works in the faith, these men and women were everywhere propagandists for the cause which was Washington's life aim.

Thus it is that through these various channels Washington not only reached the masses of Negroes, but he also prepared a corps of followers whom he fondly hoped would perpetuate the ideals for which he stood. Washington never desired any credit as leader, or desired the name itself; his modesty was such that ambition was submerged in the desire to serve. He had in mind the establishment of Tuskegee and the Tuskegee ideal so firmly in the minds of his people that it should prove the most powerful single force for the reclamation of the Negro. No abortive flash-in-the-pan leadership do we have here, but a living, energetic leaven which slowly but surely was bringing forth a strong and organized ambition for pro-

gress, and as strong an admiration for the unique personality responsible for the newly awakened desire.

We have alluded to the fact that Washington possessed effective means of reaching the great masses of the people. To the Negro intellectuals of the opposite school such instruments were denied; and in this fact lies the explanation for the ineffective type of leadership displayed by these individuals during the period when Washington was flourishing. Dubois was just as trenchant of phrase and bitter of spirit in those days as now; in fact, more so. Yet his message then failed to elicit the response which has come in later years. How explain the seeming anomaly?

It is surely not too far fetched to say that Dubois was devoid of a *clique* in the early days of protest and revolt because he lacked just those elements which made for the success of Washington's appeal. He had no means of reaching the Negro masses, as we have shown; and it is probable that, even had this means been granted him, there was no sufficient development of the race-conscious attitude which was a necessary prerequisite for a sympathetic reception of his beliefs. His students and disciples were at that time not apparent. The doctrine of revolt at that time was both unprofitable and unpopular in the North as well as in the South, as Dubois' forced resignation from a southern college indicates.

Thus Dubois was the voice crying in the wilderness, with none to hear or appreciate. His sole followers and supporters were either too young to be influential, or were taken from a close personal circle of white friends who had no touch with the Negro numbers to whom the prophet addressed his message.

Yet Dubois' work was not wholly without effect. The second generation since slavery was coming forth; one conscious only of rights denied, of freedom but half enjoyed, wotting not the immense benefit in their condition, as did their fathers, which resulted from emancipation. To this generation Dubois became the one inspiration, the one evidence of untrammelled and daring devotion to the cause of full equality. It was this generation from which the larger number of readers for his books came; and after *The Crisis* afforded a dis-

tribution agency for propaganda, race-consciousness was an inevitable subject for its consideration.

Thus we have the gradual development of the school of revolt, expressing itself in lyrics, essays, stories, and as a later culmination in the form of novels of considerable power. The influence of this group is one of the factors which must not be underestimated in any discussion of Negro leadership of today. Increasing publicity furnished by a fast growing journalistic enterprise, increasing cultural attainments enabling ever larger numbers of Negroes to appreciate the elevated protestations of Dubois and his fellows, and an increasing willingness to be convinced of the futility of further *rapprochement* and submission; these are the most characteristic features of the period immediately preceding the end of Washington's career.

The death of this great man—we speak advisedly in so addressing him—left what might be called the industrial bloc without any effective leadership around which its effort might have focussed. The substitution of Moton was a gesture whose aftermath has proved its futility. With his position, and the resources and publicity which accompany it, Moton should be one of the outstanding leaders of the Negro today, if he possessed in any degree the qualities of Washington. It is not too much to expect far more than that measure of attention vouchsafed Washington, for an ever-increasing demand for authoritative words upon race-relations assures a hearing for any person with a message. Well meaning, but vacillating and unable to cope with an exigent situation, as was evidenced during the recent recrimination concerning the Veterans Hospital at Tuskegee, Moton has proved a disappointing successor to the greatest of American Negro leaders.

We trust that this characterization of Moton will not be considered as too severe, or as inaccurate in any particular. These are common-places, evident even to the casual observer. It may be true that Moton suffers in comparison with so worthy a predecessor, and there can be no doubt that this will serve to explain to a certain extent the unenthusiastic reception with which he is met by Negroes. Nevertheless, there can be no reasonable ground for objecting to the above statement, even granting such mitigation.

But what of the men whom Washington had assembled around him at Tuskegee, and trained to the end that they might take up the task he would eventually relinquish? One is almost tempted to conclude that the Tuskegee regime is fatal to creative genius, for in no field, save that in which the eminent chemist Carver holds sway, does a Tuskegee man present himself in the guise of leader of Negro opinion or culture. No better trained faculty is to be seen in America today than that gathered together in accordance with the plans of the late leader. Yet there has been no meritorious literary contribution, no inspiring work of hand or brain, save in the one isolated instance referred to before.

What a marked contrast is to be seen in that other group, equally far removed in distance and ideals, which centers around the one man who, during the life of Washington, could divide with him the honors of Negro intellectuality! Dubois has been strikingly successful in associating with himself men and women of the highest creative ability. The fact that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the child of Dubois' early protests, requires for its operation the services of the most able and best trained of the Negro race has facilitated the process. Again, the pages of *The Crisis* have been the means for introducing many promising thinkers and writers to the Negro public, and it is but natural that the editorship of such a publication should confer added influence, and make for close alliances with this latter group which has come to be the dominant factor in Negro thought.

There can be but little hesitation in regarding the same group, composed of Dubois' proteges and intimates, as the most influential and policy-determining in the race today. The field secretaries of the N. A. A. C. P. represent an idea which possesses a singular appeal for the Negro, whether of North or South. The influx of Negroes has made the work of the propagandist easy and welcome in the large industrial centers of the North. The able group of speakers who compose the staff of the above named organization are forceful, polished, convincing, as any one who has heard Pickens, Bagnall, or James Weldon Johnson can testify. And they are reaching the Negro, not only of the upper strata, but of the lower levels, in a

manner almost as effective as that with which Washington enshrined himself in the hearts of his people. Covering the country with a blanket of information and publicity as to their endeavors, appearing before large audiences in points of strategic importance, these men have accomplished a work of great significance in the light of present conditions.

The strength of the school of Dubois is shown further by the Pan-African move toward affecting a union of the darker peoples. The outlook of Washington was purely and wholly provincial. His work he considered to consist in the salvation of the South, and never, save in glittering generalities, did he evidence an appreciation of the more universal components of the race problem as a world phenomenon. Yet we have the spectacle of Dubois, far from limiting his activity to crusading in America, turning his attention to the mother continent, and seeking earnestly to bring about a *rapprochement* between the intellectuals of that sphere and those of his own land. Nor has his activity in this direction been without result. Professor Schoell pays tribute to the work of Dubois when he relates the suspicion with which European governments viewed the pronouncements of the Pan-African Council relative to colonial affairs. It is an international rôle which Dubois is playing, and there can be no doubt that his influence in this respect, at least so far as race relations are concerned, exceeds that of Washington.

The inspiration of Dubois is evident in other fields as well. There can be no denying the fact that most Negro literature of today owes its existence to the pioneer work of this man; the series of treatises, essays, novels, and other literary contributions which have issued from the pen of Dubois since his graduate days at Harvard has profoundly influenced Negro thought. This does not include mention of *The Crisis*, and his burning editorials and contributions to this voice of protest.

It is interesting to note that almost all of the more recent literary development of the Negro has been laid in New York city. How much of this fact is due to the influence of Dubois is conjectural; but the coincidence of location and the similarity in style and theme would suggest some such connection. Miss Fauset, literary editor of *The Crisis*, has developed into a

graceful literateur beneath the very eye of Dubois, and her *hors d'œuvre*, *There is Confusion*, has many touches which are reminiscent of the finer passages of *Darkwater* and *The Souls of Black Folk*.

It is also true that Jean Toomer, author of *Cain*, perhaps the most individual and permanent of the productions of the younger school of Negro writers, shows traces of the same influence. Eric Waldron, Cullen, and James Weldon Johnson are others who owe much to Dubois. However, it must be admitted that in the person of Claude McKay one finds a style which needs acknowledge no debt to Dubois or to any other, save the common sources of English prose and verse. McKay is possessed of an individuality which reflects itself in his lyrics and essays in a most surprising fashion. Socialist, of a decidedly "pink" hue, (pardon the paradox, for McKay is a brunette of no uncertain shade), this poet has more in common with the *disengagee* of that bohemian melange of all races, though dominantly Jewish in sympathy, than with those of his own race whose songs he sings. There is more of the Third International in the writings of McKay than of Pan-Africa; in fact, at the present time he is a guest of Soviet Russia, and is describing very vividly in a series of articles contributed to various radical magazines the series of impressions which have befallen him.

It is thus that we are enabled to see the actual fruition of the influence of Dubois, while that of Washington seems to have fallen upon fallow and unproductive ground. One is tempted to wonder if the teachings of the two men will explain the fact. On the one hand we have the doctrine of accommodation, compromise, and economic development as opposed to political participation and cultural distractions. On the other hand we have the doctrine of revolt, of rebellion against oppression, of protest against wrongs, of unceasing demand for a rectification of the inequalities enforced by law or custom. As a result of the first, we have a sterility which is practically total; while the second school has developed a fecundity which is amazing. With the spectacular literary preëminence which almost inevitably insures preëminence in things of the spirit,

there can be no doubt but that the leadership of Dubois is a thing of the present which is as powerful as it is helpful.

What of the other fields in which Negroes are the leaders of their people? There can be hardly any objection made to the statement that Dubois has influenced in almost equal degree the Negro press, the Church, and the politics of the race as well. In education his influence has not been so apparent, because Negro education has been largely in the hands of white administrators who have not subscribed to the views of Dubois, but whose policy has been guided by the pronouncements of Washington and his co-workers. John Hope, president of Morehouse College, is typical of outstanding Negro educational leaders of today. He has set up and maintained in Atlanta an institution for the higher education of Negro youths, and has consistently raised the standard of this school until today it is rated as class "A" by the leading educational boards in the country—a difficult task in view of the paltry funds which have been at his disposal. It is certain that Hope approximates nearer to the ideal of Dubois and his group than to that of Washington. Brawley is one of the brilliant men whom he has gathered around him, and though his writings have all of the restraint of trained historical research, they are pitched upon a plane far alien to the conceptions which motivated Washington.

The development of Negro journalism is one of the most striking factors in the course of race relations in this country. *The Crisis*, frequently referred to above, has recently welcomed a new comer to the field in which it had before been the sole competitor. This is the official publication of the National Urban League, and the name, *Opportunity*, is rendered more significant by the motto—"Not Alms but Opportunity." The distinctive feature of this latter periodical has been the strong tone adapted toward scientific and casual allegations of racial inferiority. The social problems of the Negro are interestingly discussed in addition.

It is in the field of weekly publications, however, that the most striking development has come. In the days when Washington was at the height of his power and influence, there were but one or two Negro weeklies of more than local circulation. Today there are hundreds of these publications scattered

throughout the country, wielding an immense amount of power in moulding the opinions of the Negro masses to which they appeal. The attitude of these papers is an anomalous one. While omitting no tithe of respect for Washington, in fact, while regarding him editorially as the most prominent Negro America has yet produced, their program is consistently opposed to that of the Tuskegee principal, and the ideals of that institution. *The Chicago Defender*, most powerful of Negro weeklies, is a case in kind. On certain regular occasions it reiterates the belief that Washington is the "proudest boast of the American Negro"; and yet the editorial pages of this publication are replicas, in spirit and aim, of those of *The Crisis*. It preaches political participation, armed resistance to any attempts at segregation or violence, and where Washington counseled the Negro to "let down his bucket where he was," the *Defender* carries an article every week urging migration, and a pungent cartoon illustrating the woes of the South and the promised weal of the North. Any separation in the schools, actual or proposed, meets with the whole-hearted opposition of the paper, and miscegenation is openly advocated by Robert Abbott, the owner. No Negro paper would dare expose itself to the ridicule and disfavor of its patrons by espousing the kind of education which Washington considered the sole salvation of his race. Yet Tuskegee and Hampton receive loud encomiums, and the anomaly is repeated in other fashions. Dubois is never acknowledged as the inspiration for the utterances of this paper, though little doubt can exist as to this being actually the case.

The Negro has been put back into bi-partisan politics by the migration to northern industrial centers of thousands of potential voters. Before 1916, national Negro politics was entirely a matter of rotten borough methods of representation in the Republican Convention, and the votes of Negro delegates were bought and sold by those best prepared to offer mercenary inducements in the way of federal appointments and petty rewards. As a result, the Negro had no way of enforcing his demands upon either of the two old parties. He was a political non-entity so far as gaining recognition for his demands was concerned. His leaders, if they may be dignified

by such a term, who were guilty of the most corrupt practices ever witnessed in American politics, were taken from certain old-line southern office holders who seemed to possess at best but a rudimentary sense of personal honor. Some, indeed, of these men were competent; but the greater part were prodigal in the sale of their votes to whomsoever would purchase.

The migration has changed completely the complexion of the situation. The places of power have shifted from the South to the North. In the old days Henry Lincoln Johnson, Robert Church, and others were the controlling factors of a large bloc of Negro voters, making their power felt, however, only in the insidious transfer of certain votes at critical moments. Now there are well organized groups of Negro voters who are cognizant of their prowess and use it for a purpose other than selfish advancement. One of the most powerful of these groups is represented by the state of New Jersey, where a Negro assemblyman has been returned from a North Jersey district for several years. This group, like others similar in strength and aim throughout the North, is led by men and women trained in the large colleges and professional schools of northern institutions of learning, and represents the new type of political worker in this decade of "unbossed" politics. Candidates are interrogated on questions relative to Negro welfare, and in this manner there are some sturdy defenders of Negro rights in Congress, whose position depends upon their faithfulness in supporting the demands of the constituency of Negroes and whites which they represent. Madden, of Illinois, and Dyer, of St. Louis, framer of the proposed Anti-lynching law which bears his name, represent constituencies which are approximately 75 percent Negroid.

The recent support thrown by Negro organizations to the support of the above named bill illustrates the new phase in Negro political participation. Formerly the gospel of the Negro voter was expressed in the old slogan, "Vote for the party of Abraham Lincoln, the party which freed you; the Democratic party fought to keep you enslaved." Today the Negro is turning to either side with greater impartiality, and voting as benefits are promised or obtained. Tammany has, for a long time, possessed a strong hold upon the Negro voters

of Harlem, the thickly populated Negro district of New York city; and Mayor Deaver of Chicago owes his election in great part to the aid of Negro voters, normally Republican, who scratched the ticket after the rebuff given William Hale Thompson by the "regular" faction of that city. Thompson is very popular with the Negro voters of Chicago, because they remember the taunt with which he was greeted by certain old-line white republicans—"Thompson has turned the City Hall into Uncle Tom's Cabin."

To what influence is this change due? Surely not to Washington, who foreswore the exercise of the ballot on every public appearance. On the other hand, Dubois has long claimed that the disenfranchisement of the Negro was a promise of a slavery as onerous as that from which he was once freed; and *The Crisis* has always been the advocate of a bi-partisan attitude on the part of the Negro voter. During the recent agitation concerning the Dyer Anti-lynching bill, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People bent every energy to the crystallization of support for the bill, and its political influence was great. It recommended at that time, and has continued this advice, that in cases where congressmen or senators had failed to vote for the bill, the ballot should be scratched and discrimination made in choice of a favorable representative. Not only is this true, but the third party movement brought out an indorsement from the more prominent workers for the association, and considerable elements of support were in this manner thrown to "Fighting Bob" and his ticket.

Thus the hand of Dubois can be seen in politics as in literary development. Not as an active leader, but as a consistent agitator for political activity of the bloc character, there can be no doubt but that his views have profoundly influenced the course of events, and that his writings first gave impetus to the movement which has gained so much headway in recent years.

Despite the opinion commonly held, that the Negro is above all a religious animal, no like development of leadership can be seen on the part of the Negro church. Is it not significant that this is one field in which Dubois has not greatly interested

himself? Whatever the cause, the same sluggish hierarchy which controlled Negro churches of thirty years ago, controls them today. There is apparent, however, in many pulpits the note of revolt which Dubois originally inspired. No longer do Negro churchmen advocate the Washingtonian precepts of submission and industrialism; their attitude is similar to that of the Negro press in this respect. Giving lip-service to Washington, the trend is toward the left, rather than toward the right.

In any discussion of Negro leadership, the name of Garvey deserves attention. It has doubtless attracted far more than its share because of the spectacular and ludicrous elements which go to make it up. The pompous pronouncements of the Emperor of Africa, and the fact that the larger portion of his followers are not American Negroes at all, but of the same West Indian persuasion as their leader, might lead one to doubt the right of Garvey to a niche in the hall of fame occupied by leaders of the American Negro. There are yet many interesting factors to be isolated in studying the movement, and those factors deserve more than casual attention. As to the relation of Garvey to Dubois and Washington, and the ideals which they represent, there are wide divergencies between all three. Washington never ceased to reiterate the fact that it was in this country, in the South more particularly, that the American Negro must work out his future, and that to attempt to evade the question by a fanciful scheme of emigration or separation was poltroonery of a most disgraceful and foolish character. Dubois' Pan-African plans have nothing in common with those of Garvey. The one contemplates a slow, gradual awakening, culminating at last in the internationalization of black man-power and influence; the other is marked by visionary dreams of empire building which shall rise over night, overcoming with a blow the puny (!) military and naval forces of France, England, Italy, and any other colonial power which might seek to block the path to Africa *libre*.

Garvey is blessed or cursed, depending upon the point of view, with a singular power of personality which enables him to command an almost slave-like devotion from his followers, and an uncompromising assent to his wild and fanciful schemes. That the man is a leader of sorts must be admitted, though of

a people of whom it is the better part of charity to say little. The movement appears at the present time to be ephemeral and signs of approaching dissolution are not far in abeyance. For it to be permanent, it demanded concrete achievement; and the only achievement of Garvey has been the disbursement of large sums of money in fashions yet to be accounted for, the dispensation of a few harmless and euphonious titles, and the gratification of many poor creatures' desire for recognition.

One distinct grouping of Negroes of training and education remains to be mentioned. These are constituted in the ranks of that movement which has to do with race-relations, and is officially called the Inter-racial Movement. This movement has inherited many of the sanest and most practicable of the ideals bequeathed to the South by Washington. Drawing its personnel from professorial chair, the pulpit, and business, it is a harbinger of the ultimate in social control to which all of us must look with longing eye. This group cannot be said to be a unit in the support of any one school of opinion, for there are representatives of each *clique* in the commissions whose task is the discussion of race-relations. It approximates more closely the attitude of Washington toward questions of social "equality" and intermingling, while demanding with Dubois a collegiate training for those who desire it and can fit themselves for the work. Racial conflict is treated in no ideal or fanciful manner, but the mere actualities are thrashed out and dealt with in no cavalier fashion.

It is not strange that the Northern group, headed by Dubois and kindred spirits, should look with as much suspicion upon these men as they formerly regarded Washington's associations with whites. The choice of members in some communities has justified this fear of pettifogging. But in the greater number of cases, the choice of representatives has made for the expression of full and unhampered opinion, without regard to the susceptibilities of the one group or the other. No black man need fear to lose his self-respect in coming into such a group.

Thus is the situation today. In the South, there is no Negro to take up the reins and direct his race after the fashion suggested by Washington along the road toward progress and

self-esteem. On the other hand, Dubois, long the rival of Washington, has at last come into his own, with recognition in the form of literary, political, and economic ideals held by the more advanced members of his group. He is the most vital and interest compelling figure in the Negro world of today. And in some measure this position is due to the pioneer work of his great competitor of a decade or so ago. It is possible that it was the economic foundation laid by Washington which has made possible the success, the position, attained by Dubois since his death. It is probable that the message of Dubois would still fail of a hearing had not Washington prepared the ground by preaching unceasingly the doctrine of industrial and economic development, and thus making room for a group of Negroes sufficiently advanced in education and material wealth to bring them into cultural accord with Dubois.

Whatever the explanation be, the fact is apparent, and one is interested in attempting to predict the final result of this change from devotion to Washington to an espousal of the tenets of Dubois' creed. Will the dominance of the doctrine of Dubois make for racial strife, for estrangement of interests? Does the dominant position occupied by Dubois indicate that the Negro masses have given over hope in the works of faith and are intent, with this disillusionment fresh in their mind, upon revolt against ideals of industry and submission? It is true that if this revolt ever comes it must be blind and aimless. Dubois, however, and members of his school are giving this revolt direction.

One wonders also whether the internationalism of Dubois will ever bear fruit in so spectacular a manner as did his long years of almost unheard propaganda activities. Is "Der Tag" of the colored peoples to be ushered in with the aid of some such preparation? Or is it as futile and ineffectual a gesture as the ludicrous fancies of Garvey?

There is, finally, the riddle of Washington, and the result of such efforts as the Inter-racial commission. It is difficult to see in what fashion this commission could have been born had not Washington made clear the problem of coöperation for both races. In politics it seems that the Negro has departed forever from the counsel of Washington. Will this same atti-

tude characterize the Negro in his relations with other of the larger questions of policy which Washington advocated?

Whatever answers are proposed to these queries, one should be exceedingly cautious; for social factors as yet undreamed of may arise to complicate still further the final consummation. Had not the war and subsequent stoppage of immigration turned the eye of the Negro laborer to the North, there is every probability that Washington might yet occupy the premier position of influence in the aspirations of his people; that economic salvation and industrial development, sobriety of demeanor and good behaviour, might yet constitute the pleas of Negro leaders. But the event has made for a re-direction of aim; and where the "simple annals" of yesterday constituted his entire horizon, the Negro of today is in a ferment of dissatisfaction, discontent, hate, thwarted ambitions, cravings impossible of realization. Dubois would have been without a clientele had the Negro been content to remain in the South; but the number of Negroes resident in the North are now ready instruments of whatever propaganda may offer itself. They furnish channels for the distribution of "dangerous doctrine" to their fellows of the South. In fact, "Making the world safe for Democracy" is dangerous doctrine to preach in places where full and complete allegiance to the tenets of "Democracy" means a disruption of the *status quo*, regardless of how well reasoned that state of affairs may be.

These and other questions provoke interesting speculation. One would be vain, however, who attempted to forecast their answer. It is enough to be able to see them in their proper relation, and to be prepared in some measure for the change in race relations which the turning tide of racial leadership would seem to indicate.

Political Economy in the Early American College Curriculum

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The progress of the past half century in the field of historiography has effected a noteworthy change in the method of approach in any investigation of the life or conditions of the past. Dynastic or political history is no longer the entire, or even the chief, concern of the general historian. There is sought rather a reconstruction of the life of a people in all of its multifarious aspects as manifested during a given period. Conforming to this trend, the history of education is being rewritten to portray the development of educational institutions and practice, rather than that of educational theory. This process has advanced to a degree sufficient to permit the recording of fairly adequate outline accounts of the history of elementary and secondary education in the United States. A scant literature, however, is available for the student of the history of our higher education. The one comprehensive survey of the subject gives but the barest outline of the development of the curriculum.¹ There is in addition a monographic study of the college curriculum.² This deals in the main, however, with broad tendencies as manifested in the older Eastern institutions, and, on account of its restricted purview, can afford little insight into the actual scope, subject-matter, and methods of instruction in the early American college. Histories of particular institutions there are in abundance, but in their selection of subject-matter the authors of these chronicles uniformly record the growth of material equipment and seek to revivify in the minds of alumni the extra-curricular activities of student days, rather than to trace the growth of the curriculum and the regular exercises of college life. The group of monographs on the history of education in the various states, published at irregular intervals during the past generation by the

¹ Thwing, Charles F., *History of Higher Education in America* (New York, 1904).

² Snow, L. F., *The College Curriculum in the United States* (New York, 1907).

United States Bureau of Education, while of varying value, devote, in general, relatively little emphasis to the description of the matter and methods of instruction.

Instructional methods in collegiate branches have only recently begun to engage the attention of educators as a subject capable of formulation or repaying study by the novice.³ The historical background for such a consideration of collegiate instruction is to be found in a study of the evolution of the American college curriculum. We are here concerned with such a study of the early development of the teaching of economic theory as a part of that curriculum.

The course of study coming down from the colonial colleges, based upon that of the English universities, which in turn preserved the traditions of the mediaeval *trivium* and *quadrivium*, was broadened in two directions in response to influences arising from a complex series of causes. On the one hand, there was increased attention to the natural sciences; on the other, instruction in the broad group characterized in modern educational parlance as the social sciences, was introduced. It is in the latter group that the subject of our investigation lies. The origin of the social-science group is an interesting example of the differentiation of the special sciences from the broader and more general field of philosophy.⁴ The liberalizing influence of the Enlightenment stimulated interest in the "law of nature and of nations," and courses—based upon the works of Vattel and Burlamaqui—were introduced into American colleges. Political science became a part of the college curriculum as "political philosophy," and the summary by Paley attained widespread vogue. Political economy, in its classical formulation, was an outgrowth of moral philosophy, on which general subject Adam Smith delivered at Glasgow the lectures which, after a decade or more of further study, he elaborated into his *Wealth of Nations*.⁵ The study of history in most of the older American colleges was ancillary to that of the classical languages.

³ Cf. Klapper, Paul (editor), *College Teaching* (Yonkers, N. Y., 1920).

⁴ Fullerton, G. S., *Introduction to Philosophy*, Chapter I. (New York, 1906).

⁵ These lectures, reconstructed from the notes of Smith's students and edited by Edwin Cannan, have been published under the title, *Lectures on Justice, Police, Revenue, and Arms* (Oxford, 1896).

Although the science of political economy had its academic origin as a branch of moral philosophy, and although its relation to the philosophical studies, and even to theology, remained close, there was early apparent a recognition of its value in another direction, namely, as a propaedeutic, along with "political philosophy" and the "law of nature and of nations," for the duties of the public administrator. In England, indeed, it appears that the latter aspect of the value of the subject attained earlier recognition in bringing it, as a science distinct from moral philosophy, into an academic curriculum. In 1805 the Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus, the author of the famous *Essay on the Principle of Population as it Affects the Future Improvement of Society*, the first edition of which had been published in 1798, was appointed to a professorship of modern history and political economy at the East India Company's College at Haileybury. Dugald Stewart lectured on political economy at Edinburgh, and Archbishop Whately, beginning in 1832, at Trinity College, Dublin. The interest of the commercial classes of London in the subject is indicated by the fact that John Ramsay McCulloch gave lectures and conducted private classes from 1825, and became professor of political economy at University College in 1828.⁶

The first appearance of political economy in an American college curriculum was an outgrowth of the advanced educational theories of Thomas Jefferson, who, as early as 1779, had already conceived the ideal of a university on the plan of the great Continental institutions. This ideal he lived to embody, though cramped by unfavorable circumstances, in the University of Virginia. When the shifting of military operations toward the South was ushering in that period of the Revolutionary War when the fortunes of the struggling colonists reached their lowest ebb, Jefferson, who was governor of Virginia and a member of the board of visitors of the College of William and Mary, brought about a reorganization of the college, which had previously consisted of a grammar school,

⁶ McCulloch, J. R., *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Political Economy: To Commence in the City of London, on the 23rd of March, 1825*. Cf. also Palgrave's *Dictionary of Political Economy*, article "Economics, Teaching of."

devoted mainly to the teaching of the classical languages, a school of natural philosophy and mathematics, a school of moral philosophy, and a divinity school. The grammar school and the divinity school were abolished, and chairs of modern languages, law and police, and medicine were instituted. To the chair of moral philosophy were added the law of nature and of nations and the fine arts.⁷

While the impulse leading to this innovation proceeded from Jefferson, the immediate responsibility for placing the plan in operation was in the hands of the Rev. James Madison, afterward first bishop of Virginia, who became president of the college in 1777. He had previously served for four years as professor of natural philosophy and mathematics in the institution. He shared Jefferson's scientific interest, and was apparently influenced as a student by the scientific tradition which, according to Jefferson, was established by Dr. William Small, who served from 1758 to 1760 as professor of natural philosophy at the College of William and Mary, and for the two years following as professor of natural and moral philosophy, returning to England in 1762. Small introduced into the college the lecture method, and so inspiring was his instruction that Jefferson says of him that "he fixed the destinies of my life."⁸ Madison went abroad just prior to the revolution and apparently continued in England his scientific studies.⁹

Much of the early history of the College of William and Mary can be recorded only with difficulty and some uncertainty, owing to the destruction of the college records during the Civil War. After an exhaustive examination of the existing sources of information, however, Dr. Lyon Gardiner Tyler has concluded that political economy was added to the curriculum of the institution in 1784, when Madison instituted lectures based upon Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* as a part of the instruction given in connection with the chair of moral philosophy,

⁷ Jefferson, Thomas, *Autobiography*, in *Writings*, edited by H. A. Washington, Vol. I., p. 50 (New York, 1853).

⁸ *Op. cit.*, Vol. I., p. 2.

⁹ While in Paris, Jefferson communicated to Madison reports of the scientific progress of the day. "As you seem willing," he wrote, "to accept of the crumbs of science on which we are subsisting here, it is with pleasure I continue to hand them on to you." *Op. cit.*, Vol. II., pp. 246-248 and 429-433.

the law of nature and of nations, and the fine arts.¹⁰ There has been recovered, and is now preserved in the library of the College of William and Mary, an interesting manuscript volume entitled, *A Compendium of Lectures as Delivered by James Madison, President of William and Mary*. This contains Madison's lectures on natural philosophy and on elocution. Should his lectures on political economy be found, they would likewise prove an interesting document to the historian of American education. Lacking these lectures, it is impossible to determine the direction of the major emphasis in the instruction imparted by Madison. We know, however, that Jefferson, in his pioneer advocacy of the study of political economy, was actuated by his belief in its potency in forming "the statesmen, legislators, and judges, on whom public prosperity and individual happiness are so much to depend"; in "harmonizing and promoting the interests of agriculture, manufactures and commerce"; and in giving a "free scope to the public industry."¹¹

The second among American institutions of higher learning to introduce political economy was Columbia College, where the subject was added, in 1818, to those taught by the Rev. John McVickar, professor of moral and intellectual philosophy in the institution. This action was taken in accordance with the request of the professor. McVickar's career as an educator and a clergyman of the Episcopal church was a long and honorable one. In the former capacity he served Columbia College from 1817 until his death in 1863. During the forty years from 1817 to 1857, he taught such diverse subjects as moral and intellectual philosophy, *belles lettres*, history, political economy, political science, and natural and revealed religion.¹² He manifested an interest in the practical applications of economic theory in his *Hints on Banking* (1827) and his *Considerations Upon the Expediency of Abolishing Damages on Pro-*

¹⁰ Tyler, L. G., in *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV., pp. 240-241; Vol. IX., p. 61; Vol. XIV., pp. 71-83; Vol. XXV., pp. 238-240; also the same writer's "A Few Facts from the Records of William and Mary College," *American Historical Society Papers*, Vol. IV., pp. 455-469 (1890).

¹¹ Lesh, J. A., *The Educational Philosophy of Thomas Jefferson* (unpublished doctoral dissertation in the library of the School of Education, New York University, 1915), pp. 103-104.

¹² The *Statutes of Columbia College*, 1827, indicate that McVickar was then designated as professor of moral philosophy, rhetoric, and *belles lettres*. The *Statutes* for 1836, 1843, 1848, and 1851 designate him as professor of intellectual and moral philosophy, political economy, rhetoric, and *belles lettres*.

tested *Bills of Exchange* (1829). From his more formally didactic works, however, it is plain that McVickar emphasized in his teaching the importance of political economy as a moral science and of its general diffusion as a source of safety for existing institutions. In its laws he saw the confirmation and illustration of the precepts of revealed religion.¹³

In 1820 instruction in political economy was introduced at Harvard College.¹⁴ Levi Frisbie, the first incumbent of the Alford professorship of natural religion, moral philosophy, and civil polity, was appointed in 1817 and served until his death in 1822. Frisbie was a graduate of Harvard, had studied law, and had served for six years as tutor and for a like period as professor of Latin prior to his appointment to the Alford professorship. Here again the teaching of economic theory was combined in the same department with instruction in intellectual, moral, and political philosophy and natural theology.¹⁵ No lectures on political economy are included among the literary remains published after Frisbie's death.¹⁶

The introduction of political economy at South Carolina College is of particular interest in that it was the outgrowth of the efforts of Dr. Thomas Cooper, one of the outstanding figures in the early history of American collegiate education, and instruction in the subject was imparted by him. It evenuated, moreover, in the publication of the earliest text-book on political economy written by an American from the general viewpoint of the school of Smith and adapted to serve as a basis for collegiate instruction. In 1819 Dr. Cooper, scientist,¹⁷ educator, jurist, and a storm center in early American politics,¹⁸ became professor of chemistry in South Carolina College. In the following year he was elevated to the presi-

¹³ Cf. McVickar's notes in his edition of McCulloch's *Outline of Political Economy* (New York, 1825); also his *Introductory Lecture to a Course of Political Economy Recently Delivered at Columbia College, New York* (London, 1830).

¹⁴ Colby, J. F., letter published in the *Nation*, Vol. LXIII., p. 494.

¹⁵ Cf. *A Statement of the Course of Instruction, Terms of Admission, Expenses, &c. at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts* (1823).

¹⁶ Cf. *A Collection of the Miscellaneous Writings of Professor Frisbie* (Boston, 1823).

¹⁷ Smith, E. F., *Chemistry in America*, Chapter VI. (New York, 1914).

¹⁸ Cf. Wills, E. V., *The Case of Dr. Cooper*. *South Atlantic Quarterly*, Vol. XVIII., pp. 6-14 (January, 1919).

dency of the institution and served in this capacity until 1834. From Cooper himself we have this account of the circumstances attending the origin of his courses in political economy:¹⁹

"At the Commencement held in the South Carolina College for 1824, I delivered an address recommending the study of Political Economy, and the regular appointment of a Professor for the purpose. The culpable inattention in our country to a science of such extensive application, and the manifest ignorance or neglect of its first principles, among our Statesmen and Legislatures, seemed to me imperiously to call for some measures which should force into public notice a branch of knowledge, on which human happiness so much depended. The Trustees of the College were of opinion with me; and requested I should draw up and deliver a course of Lectures on Political Economy to the Senior Class of the Students of the College. On being freed from the Professorship of Rhetoric, Criticism and Belles-Lettres, which has now devolved on my friend Mr. Nott; I delivered in conformity to the request of the Trustees, the following courses of Lectures, in addition to my Professorship of Chemistry. I hope with good effect. For we teach our youth in vain, unless we enable them to keep pace with the improvements of the day."

Here we find political economy definitely divorced from any relation to moral philosophy and taught with explicit reference to the objective of preparation for intelligent participation in the political life of State and Nation.

Another type of relation of political economy to other collegiate studies appears in the history of the subject at Bowdoin College, where it was introduced in 1824, when Samuel Phillips Newman was appointed professor of rhetoric and oratory and lecturer on civil polity and political economy. The personal interest of Newman in the subject probably accounted for its appearance in the curriculum. In 1835 he published a simple introductory text entitled, *Elements of Political Economy*. After his resignation in 1839, there was no officially designated lecturer on political economy, but the subject continued to be included in the curriculum published in the catalogue of the institution until 1846-1847, when it was replaced by a course based upon Guizot's *History of Civilization in Europe*.

¹⁹ Cooper, Thomas, *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy*, 1st edition, preface (Columbia, S. C., 1826).

As Jefferson was influential in bringing about the reforms at the College of William and Mary which led to the appearance of political economy in the curriculum, so likewise the subject occupied an important place in the curriculum of the University of Virginia, the "lengthened shadow" of the statesman. The services of Jefferson as a pioneer in promoting the study of political economy in America were of fundamental importance. In 1816 he urged Joseph C. Cabell to undertake the translation of Jean Baptiste Say's *Traité d'Économie Politique*. "There is no branch of science," he wrote, "of which our countrymen seem so ignorant as political economy." It was through his influence that an English translation of the second section of Count Destutt de Tracy's *Eléments d'Idéologie*, his *Traité de la Volonté*, and related papers was published in 1817.²⁰ Jefferson also desired to secure the services of Say for Central College, the institution from which the University of Virginia was developed.

The original plan of organization of the University of Virginia provided that political economy should form one of the subjects of instruction in the school of law.²¹ While professors from abroad were appointed to head five of the schools in the new institution, it was an object of solicitude on the part of the board of visitors of the university that the schools of law and moral philosophy, on account of their peculiarly close relation to training for leadership, should be under the direction of American citizens. To the chair of moral philosophy was appointed George Tucker, a lawyer and writer of prominence, who was at that time one of Virginia's representatives in Congress. Efforts to fill the chair of law were unsuccessful until the spring of 1826. During the university's first year, therefore, instruction was not given in this school. Jefferson and Madison, the most influential members of the board of visitors, placed a high estimate upon the abilities of Tucker, who had already manifested an interest in economic speculation, and who afterwards produced several important works in this field

²⁰ The translation was entitled *A Treatise on Political Economy* (Georgetown, D. C., 1817).

²¹ *Enactments by the Rector and Visitors of the University of Virginia for Constituting, Governing and Conducting that Institution* (1825).

as well as in biography and history.²² Hence political economy was added in 1826 to the subjects included in the school of moral philosophy. While associated with the other subjects embraced within this school, however, Tucker's works leave no ground for doubt that his emphasis was upon the practical value of economic theory as a factor in preparation for public service.

At Brown University, sweeping changes in administration and curriculum were inaugurated by Francis Wayland upon his accession to the presidency of the institution in 1827. Along with the strengthening of the courses in the ancient languages and in mathematics, a two-term course in political economy, under the direction of President Wayland himself, was instituted in 1828.²³ While he sought to draw a clear line of demarcation between the sphere of moral philosophy and that of political economy, Wayland was a teacher of moral philosophy and a theologian. He stressed, therefore, the ethical approach to economic questions.

In the instances which have been described the introduction of instruction in political economy came as the result of the interest of educators or leaders in public life. It preceded rather than followed a generally felt need or a widely voiced demand. There is evidence, however, that there developed a widespread interest in economic theory as there evolved into clear outline the momentous problems connected with banks and currency, the tariff and foreign trade, and slavery. It was true of political economy in the college curriculum, as the historian of one of the older Eastern colleges has said of science, that the demand for it was "not voiced by many, but it was felt, and was certain sooner or later to find expression in the ambitions of youth."²⁴ Aside from a very few progressive institutions, however, the early American college fol-

²² Cf. the papers entitled "On the Density of Population," "On National Debts," "On Banks of Circulation," and "On the Theory of Malthus," in Tucker's *Essays on Various Subjects of Taste, Morals, and National Policy* (Georgetown, D. C., 1822); also Duglison, Robley, *An Obituary Notice of Professor George Tucker, Read before the American Philosophical Society, October 3d, 1862* (Philadelphia, 1862).

²³ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Brown University for the Academical year 1828-29.*

²⁴ Raymond, Andrew V. V., *Union University, its History, Influence, Characteristics and Equipment*, Vol. I, p. 155 (New York, 1907).

lowed an intensely conservative course in the development of its curriculum. Changes, when made, were induced largely by the influence of the leading institutions and by the availability of elementary text-books organizing the subject-matter of the new course in teachable form.²⁵ For political economy the latter requisite was supplied by the publication in 1821 of C. R. Prinsep's translation of Jean Baptiste Say's *Traité d'Économie Politique*, under the title *A Treatise on Political Economy*. This work was a clear, systematic, and orderly restatement of the doctrines of the school of Smith. It soon came into almost universal use among colleges offering courses in political economy, and doubtless exerted an important influence in producing the rapid multiplication in the number of such courses which characterized the period following its publication.

To chronicle with any degree of completeness of detail the development in the various institutions of the study of the subject of our inquiry, would be a task impossible within the scope of this study. Nothing can be attempted beyond recording, in addition to the details already given, the appearance of the subject in the curricula of a group of institutions representative of the ecclesiastical-state colleges of the colonial period, the state colleges and universities, and the denominational or independent foundations, together with a sketch of the earliest attempt in America to develop collegiate instruction in the general field of commerce.

Political economy was introduced at Dickinson College in 1822 by Henry Vethake, who later established instruction in the subject at Princeton.²⁶ He published in 1838 an elementary treatise on the subject and edited the American edition of McCulloch's *Dictionary of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*. In 1825 Rutgers College provided for instruction in political economy in the third year term of the senior year.²⁷ Yale introduced a similar course in the same year.²⁸ At Union College, when a distinction, beginning with the sophomore year,

²⁵ The influence of Yale, particularly upon the colleges of the middle west, was noteworthy. Princeton and the University of Virginia influenced many of the southern institutions.

²⁶ Vethake, Henry, *The Principles of Political Economy*, Preface, p. viii.

²⁷ *Statutes of Rutgers College* (1825).

²⁸ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students in Yale College* (November, 1825).

was introduced between the classical and scientific courses, political economy appeared in 1827 as an alternative to conic sections in the second term of the junior year. In the following year it became a required subject.²⁹ At the College of Charleston³⁰ and at Dartmouth³¹ the subject appeared in 1828, at Princeton in 1831,³² at Amherst in 1832,³³ at Williams in 1835,³⁴ at the University of North Carolina in 1836,³⁵ at Oberlin,³⁶ at New York University (then called the University of the City of New York),³⁷ and the University of Michigan³⁸ in 1843, and at the University of Wisconsin in 1850.³⁹

A short-lived attempt prior to the Civil War to establish collegiate instruction at the University of Louisiana (now Tulane University) deserves particular attention, for here we find for the first time in America a clearly defined emphasis upon commercial efficiency as an aim in higher education, and an attempt to establish a prototype of the modern university school of commerce. Its forms, moreover, a completely neglected chapter in the history of American education.

In 1846, J. D. B. DeBow established in New Orleans his *Commercial Review of the South and West*, which became perhaps the most influential of the ante-bellum southern periodicals. He sought to promote, through the dissemination of economic, statistical, scientific, industrial, commercial, and educational information, the development of the section which

²⁹ *New York State, Journal of the Assembly*, 1828, pp. 969-974; 1829, pp. 369-376.

³⁰ Meriwether, Colyer, *History of Higher Education in South Carolina* (U. S. Bu. Education Cir. of Information No. 3, 1888), pp. 59-60.

³¹ Colby, J. F., *Op. cit.*; Lord, J. K., *History of Dartmouth College*, Vol. II., p. 215.

³² McLean, John, *The College of New Jersey*, Vol. I., p. 285; Vethake, Henry, *An Introductory Lecture on Political Economy delivered at Nassau-Hall, January 31, 1831*.

³³ Amherst College, *Catalogue of the Corporation, Faculty, and Students* (November, 1832); Tyler, William S., *History of Amherst College*, pp. 233 and 310.

³⁴ Perry, Arthur L., *Williamstown and Williams College*, p. 691 (1899).

³⁵ *Catalogue of the Trustees, Faculty and Students of the University of North Carolina*, October 1, 1837; Smith, C. L., *History of Education in North Carolina*, (U. S. Bu. Education Cir. of Information No. 2, 1888), pp. 67, 79-80.

³⁶ *Catalogue of the Trustees, Officers and Students of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute*, 1836 and 1840-'41.

³⁷ *University of the City of New York, Annual Catalogue*, 1843-'44.

³⁸ *University of Michigan, Catalogue of the Corporation, Officers, and Students in the Departments of Medicine, Arts and Science*, 1843-1844.

³⁹ Allen, Wm. F., and Spencer, David E., *Higher Education in Wisconsin* (U. S. Bu. Education Cir. of Information No. 1, 1889), pp. 20-29.

his publication served.⁴⁰ One of the needs which he immediately perceived was that of an institution of higher education in New Orleans, and from the first he advocated such an institution with ample provision for instruction in commerce and political economy. In November, 1846, DeBow wrote:⁴¹

"We have made the first step in establishing a system of common schools unsurpassed in the Union. The next step is evident. Education must not be begun only, but completed. The people demand institutions of a higher nature—academies and colleges. The new constitution established a University. This we must have if *men* are to be reared. Every branch of information can be communicated by it, the useful, the elegant, and the practical. A professorship of the arts, of the sciences, of law, of literature, of agriculture, and of *commerce*—shall we not have these?"

In 1845 the University of Louisiana was organized, utilizing as a nucleus a medical school founded in 1834. A law school was established in 1847, but plans for the inauguration of collegiate instruction grew slowly toward realization, owing to the lack of material resources. Various methods of securing support were advocated. On the one hand there was proposed an institution organized on the joint-stock plan, the stock to be subscribed for by the state, the city, and private individuals;⁴² on the other, state support, with a nominal tuition fee to meet incidental expenses, was urged.⁴³

The pages of "DeBow's Review" afforded a means of presenting the views of the supporters of the projected university, and in the discussion which centered around the proposal we find a clearly-defined disposition to depart from the traditional American type of institution of higher education, located generally at a distance from centers of population and regulating minutely the activities of its students, and an unmistakable recognition of the advantages of the urban university, thoroughly secularized, either publicly supported or otherwise available to rich and poor alike, and organized after the manner

⁴⁰ *DeBow's Review*, Vol. I., pp. 1-16.

⁴¹ *DeBow's Review*, Vol. II., p. 349.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, Vol. III., pp. 260-265.

⁴³ *Op. cit.*, Vol. III., pp. 311-316.

of the Scottish or the Continental universities in providing only for instruction and exercising little or no oversight over the life of the student beyond the lecture room.

In 1848, a prominent merchant of New Orleans undertook the collection of contributions to provide an endowment for a chair of "Commerce, Public Economy, and Statistics," and a fund was obtained and placed at the disposal of the board of administrators of the University of Louisiana for this purpose.⁴⁴ Finally, in 1851, the collegiate department of the institution opened its doors. Two years prior to this date, however, DeBow had instituted two courses in political economy and commerce.⁴⁵ While he retained the title of professor in the University of Louisiana until 1857, he was appointed superintendent of the United States census in 1853. It appears unlikely, therefore, that his instruction was continued after that date. The collegiate branch of the university did not prosper as did the medical and law departments, and it appears that collegiate instruction was suspended after 1855.⁴⁶ Only after the chaotic conditions attending the reconstruction period had somewhat abated was the department revived.

Turning now to an attempt to summarize the results of this portion of our inquiry, it is manifest that in the period prior to the Civil War, the aims of the study of political economy were either moral or civic, except in the single instance of the University of Louisiana, where the aim of commercial efficiency was dominant. The first of these aims was in general the prevailing one in the northern colleges, where the subjects maintained a close relation to the other branches of the philosophical studies. In the more important colleges and universities of the South, the civic aim predominated. Here, moreover, political economy was generally combined in the same department with other subjects of the historico-political group. Among such institutions as the College of William and Mary, South Carolina College, and the Univer-

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, Vol. V., p. 238.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, Vol. VII., pp. 188 and 225-239.

⁴⁶ Fortier, Alcée, *A History of Louisiana*, Vol. III., p. 249; Fay, E. W., *The History of Education in Louisiana* (U. S. Bu. Education Cir. of Information No. 1, 1898), pp. 168-176.

sity of Virginia, instruction in the subject attained the highest degree of development which it reached in America prior to the Civil War.

During the early period there was apparently no thought of determining the aims of higher education upon the basis of psychology. Educational values were estimated in terms of the knowledge acquired. The content of the college curriculum was made up in the main of subjects stamped with the approval of long-standing custom. Later, during the course of the controversy precipitated by Spencer's *Education*, we find the disciplinary value of political economy urged as a justification for its inclusion on the college curriculum.⁴⁷

Only a few representative examples can be cited as illustrative of the content and methods of instruction in the courses offered at the various institutions. The content of the courses was, in the main, the classical economic theory embodied in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and restated in more popular form by Jean Baptiste Say, together with the Malthusian theory of population and the Ricardian doctrine of rent. While the leading figures in academic instruction manifested originality in thought and criticism, and produced, in some instances, works deserving of far more general attention than has been accorded them, many teachers doubtless attempted little or nothing beyond the statements of the text in the development or application of theory. Among those falling within this category who relied upon the text of Say, it is probable that the influence of Malthus and Ricardo was slight. Outside academic circles, there

⁴⁷ The body of educational theory accessible in early American college libraries included in addition to the ancient classical writers little beyond the works of Bacon and Locke and Rousseau's *Emile*. Following the publication of Combe's *The Constitution of Man* (1828) the phrenologists gained a large following in circles interested in popular education. It appears that the question of content *versus* discipline rarely presented itself to the framers of the American college curriculum prior to the Civil War. The problem was frankly faced, however, and a solution sought in the *Reports on the Course of Instruction in Yale College, by a Committee of the Corporation and the Academic Faculty*, published in 1830. The value of content is placed higher in the scale. "If it were possible," we read, "for a youth to have his faculties in the highest state of cultivation, without any of the knowledge which is derived from others, he would be but poorly fitted for the business of life. . . . Such branches are to be taught as will produce a proper symmetry and balance of character." During the period following the Civil War, in the course of the rapid expansion of the American college curriculum which took place synchronously with the spread of the elective system and the greatly stimulated interest in the sciences, political economy, like the other new subjects, was defended on the ground of its disciplinary value. Cf. Laughlin, J. L., *The Study of Political Economy*, pp. 55 ff. and 73 ff. (New York, 1885); Dunbar, C. F., "The Academic Study of Political Economy," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, July, 1891 (reprinted in Dunbar's *Economic Essays*, New York, 1904).

was a marked independence of thought in relation to such aspects of the classical economic doctrines as diminishing returns, population, rent, international trade, and the distribution of labor. The conclusion appears justified that these divergences were, to an important degree, a consequence of the influence of environmental factors markedly different from those which formed the background of the thought of the English classicists. In their extreme form they produced a group of national economists known as the "American School." This tendency, however, was represented chiefly among the commercial classes, and exerted little influence upon academic instruction.

Aside from its position as the pioneer in instruction in political economy, the College of William and Mary derived its principal interest in connection with the early study and teaching of the subject from the work of Thomas Rodérick Dew, who became professor of history, metaphysics, and political law in the institution in 1827. In 1836 he became president of the college, serving in this capacity until his death ten years later. For several years Dew based his instruction upon Smith's *Wealth of Nations*; later this text gave place to that of Say. An ardent advocate of free trade, Dew prepared a course of lectures designed to elucidate and to supplement Smith upon this subject. These he found too voluminous for oral delivery, and accordingly published them in 1829 under the title, *Lectures on the Restrictive System, Delivered to the Senior Political Class of William and Mary College*. This work is an authoritative statement of the basis in economic theory of the southern opposition to protective tariffs.

Dew was the first economist of note to defend the institution of slavery. His pro-slavery works are his review of the debate in the Virginia legislature of 1831-'32 on the abolition of slavery,⁴⁸ and his address entitled *On the Influence of the Federative Republican System of Government Upon Literature and the Development of Character*, prepared for delivery before the Historical and Philosophical Society of Virginia in 1836.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Reprinted in Harper, William (and others), *Pro-Slavery Argument*, pp. 287-490 (Charleston, 1852).

⁴⁹ *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. II., pp. 261-282.

His views upon this subject, however, were based upon sociological, rather than economic, grounds. Slavery he regarded as a means of social control necessary in any society sufficiently organized to give rise to a differentiation of activities. The performance of the more menial tasks Dew held to involve a state of mind such that those engaged in them could never meet upon terms of equality those for whom such tasks were performed. Should they be admitted to a share in the government, not democracy, but a tyranny of the proletariat under the sway of demagogues would result. On the other hand, by making such menial laborers the property of the higher classes, they would be assured a livelihood, with the result that they would be contented and would identify their interests with those of their masters. The free citizens would meet upon terms of equality, and in their collective action for the common weal would assure protection against the dangers of agrarianism.

John McVickar's American edition of McCulloch's *Outline of Political Economy* has been referred to already as an important early contribution to the literature of the science in America. During the period immediately following its publication, this formed the principal basis of his instruction at Columbia College. He also edited an American reprint of the article on interest contributed by McCulloch to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.⁵⁰ Later he came to seek a wider range of subject-matter. In 1856, he wrote:⁵¹

"My practice is, at the commencement, to explain the subject of textbooks, and to give the class a list of the best, any one of which would be satisfactory. . . . I have written notes; and in the earlier periods I used to read lectures. Experience has brought me to a freer use of notes, as guiding the analysis of the subjects, but not controlling the words."

In the entire literature of college administration there are perhaps no more minutely exact records of the courses pursued and the work accomplished in each department than those embodied in the reports of Josiah Quincy during the period of

⁵⁰ McCulloch, J. R., *Interest Made Equity*. Preface by John McVickar (New York, 1826).

⁵¹ Quoted by Adams, H. B., *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities* (U. S. Bu. Education Cir. of Information No. 2, 1887), pp. 64-65.

his incumbency as president of Harvard University. His report for 1826-'27 records that 650 pages of Say's *Political Economy* were covered by the senior class during the first term. There were two sections, each having 54 exercises. In addition, four lectures were delivered. For the year 1828-'29, the following account of the scope of the work assigned to the Alford professorship for the senior year is given:⁵²

"In the Senior year instruction in this branch is recommenced, with Brown's Treatise on the Mind. Both volumes of this work are finished by the sixth or seventh week of the second term. The Class then enter upon Say's Political Economy, which is finished by about the eighth week in the third term. Rawle on the Constitution then succeeds in the course, and with it the instruction in this branch ceases.

"Rawle is one of those studies which are denominated 'optional'; it being within the option of any individual to study this work, or Smellie's Natural History with the instructor in that branch.

"In all the books used as studies in this department, about twelve pages constitute the average length of a lesson.

"Besides the preceding, two lectures are delivered every week during the second term (on Mondays and Wednesdays, at 10 o'clock) one hour each, on Civil Polity and on Locke's Essay on the Understanding."

In marked contrast with the attitude of Dew, who maintained that "the great duty of the Professor" is "to inculcate upon the mind of the student those general principles alone, which may form the basis of his future opinions and actions," Dr. Thomas Cooper, while president of South Carolina College, took an active and leading part in the political controversies which agitated his State. He brought economic argument to bear in opposition to the doctrine of protection, and his addresses and contributions to the newspaper and periodical press, characterized always by energetic denunciation of the measures which he opposed, influenced a circle far wider than that which he reached through the college lecture room. To him is generally attributed a considerable measure of influence in shaping southern opinion on the subject of nullification.

While in general agreement with Adam Smith, Cooper's *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy* manifests orig-

⁵² Fourth Annual Report of the President of Harvard University to the Overseers on the State of the Institution, for the Academical Year 1828-29 (Cambridge, Mass., 1830).

inality and independence of thought. Nowhere is there found a more thoroughgoing condemnation of slavery from the standpoint of the economic theorist.⁵³

Cooper's successor in the teaching of economic theory at South Carolina College, Francis Lieber, served as professor of history and political economy from 1835 to 1856. A graduate of Jena and a disciple of Niebuhr, Lieber brought to one of the leading educational institutions of the old South the ideals of the best German scholarship of his day. His *Manual of Political Ethics* (1838), his *Legal and Political Hermeneutics* (1839), and his *Civil Liberty and Self Government* (1853) established themselves as authoritative treatises in the field of political science and jurisprudence and have exerted a noteworthy influence upon American thought. In 1857 he became professor of history and political science at Columbia College.⁵⁴

The course in political economy instituted at the University of Virginia by George Tucker occupied the second half of the senior year in the school of moral philosophy. The examinations were based upon the professor's lectures and upon the texts of Smith and Say. In the discussion of controverted questions, however, we are told that "all the ablest writers, both of Europe and America," were referred to.⁵⁵ As an outgrowth of his lectures, Tucker published his *Laws of Wages, Profits and Rent Investigated* (1837) and his *Theory of Money and Banks Investigated* (1839). While these works manifest originality and acumen in reasoning and contain important contributions to economic theory, particularly in the treatment of the theory of value where Tucker anticipates the subjective value theories of the English economists of the latter part of the nineteenth century and the Austrian school, they were speedily forgotten in his own day, a result probably attributable to the fact that they were specialized treatises rather than sur-

⁵³ Cooper, *Lectures on the Elements of Political Economy* (1st ed.), pp. 106-107.

⁵⁴ During the period from 1858 to the closing of South Carolina College during the Civil War, President Longstreet served also as professor of history, political philosophy, political economy, and elocution. It appears that the standard of instruction set by Cooper and maintained by Lieber was in decided contrast with the somewhat dilatory methods of Longstreet. Cf. Wade, J. D., *Augustus Baldwin Longstreet* (New York, 1924).

⁵⁵ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia, 1832-'33.*

veys of the nature demanded as texts for the courses generally given in American colleges at the time of their publication.⁵⁶

Tucker resigned in 1845 and was succeeded by Dr. William H. McGuffey. The work of the school of moral philosophy was expanded to cover three years, the junior, the intermediate, and the senior. The catalogue of the university thus describes the course in 1849-'50:⁵⁷

"Political Economy, Statistics, and the Philosophy of Social Relations, or 'Ethics of Society.' Text-books: On Political Economy, (A. Smith,) Say, (McCulloch,) Tucker (and Carey); on the Progress of Society, (Ferguson,) Guizot, (Taylor,) and McKinnon.

"The examinations will be on the professor's Lectures and the text-books, that is, those books enumerated above, the names of which are not included in parentheses. Those so included are to be consulted, but not required to be studied as text-books."

Soon after the publication of John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), the classical restatement of the theories of the school of Smith, that work replaced those of Tucker in McGuffey's list of required texts.⁵⁸

At Brown University, President Francis Wayland adopted first the work of Say as a text, supplementing it, apparently in increasing measure, by lectures, until 1837, when he published his own *Elements of Political Economy*. While less elementary than the treatises of Mrs. Marcet,⁵⁹ and the primer published shortly before by John McVickar,⁶⁰ Wayland's work was a popularization of the orthodox economic theory. The intricate character of many of the problems of the subject was never grasped by him, and he was notably successful in avoiding statements likely to arouse controversy. His treatise became at once immensely popular, and it seems safe to assert that no other text-book on the subject published in America has attained such widespread use. For the colleges devoting a single term

⁵⁶ Tucker's later works on political economy and statistics were his *Progress of the United States in Population and Wealth in Fifty Years* (New York, 1843), *The Malthusian Theory Discussed in a Correspondence between A. H. Everett and Professor George Tucker of the University of Virginia* (1845), *Banks or No Banks* (1857), and *Political Economy for the People* (1859). The last mentioned was a brief survey for the general reader.

⁵⁷ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia, 1849-'50.*

⁵⁸ *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the University of Virginia, 1855-56.*

⁵⁹ Marcet, Mrs. Jane (Haldimand), *Conversations on Political Economy* (1816); John Hopkins's *Notions on Political Economy* (1833).

⁶⁰ McVickar, John, *First Lessons in Political Economy for the Use of Schools and Families* (New York, 1835).

to political economy, it offered a text which could be easily covered within the time allotted. Its simple and popular treatment commended it to those teachers whose acquaintance with the subject was limited. Its use was not confined to colleges, for many of the academies, which at the time of its popularity were rapidly developing and expanding their curricula, added courses based upon it.

The examples which have been adduced are sufficient to furnish an insight into the scope and content of the early American college courses in economic theory, and they reveal the sources upon which this instruction was based. Except at the University of Virginia, where the elective system prevailed from the first, the courses which have been described formed a part of a required curriculum.⁶¹ There was little change until the beginning of a great period of development among American colleges and universities during the fourth quarter of the nineteenth century. About the same time the influence among American academic economists of the German historical school became pronounced, mainly in consequence of the increasing extent to which young instructors resorted to the German universities for graduate study.

There remains to be noticed an aspect of American economic thought which, while it exerted little influence upon the teaching of political economy in this country, was of considerable importance in shaping the thought of the European economists who, in turn, influenced the young American teachers of the subject.

As a reaction of American manufacturing and commercial interests against the *laissez-faire* doctrines of the classical economists arose what is designated as the "American school" of economic thought. Though the tendencies characteristic of this group may be found in the writings of Alexander Hamilton, the "school" may be considered as originating with the publication, in 1820, of Daniel Raymond's *Thoughts on Political Economy*. Raymond maintained that economic policy should be based not upon doctrines held to be of universal and

⁶¹ At Union College, however, political economy formed a part only of the classical course. At the University of Michigan, a second elective course, in addition to the required introductory survey, was announced during the decade preceding the Civil War.

immutable validity, but upon national needs. For the United States, he held that this need was for the development of productive capacity commensurate with the natural resources of the country. To this end he advocated protection. His emphasis upon the importance of national enrichment also led him to give a wider scope to the province of government in economic affairs than that countenanced by the English classical economists and their American disciples.

Among the leading exponents of the views of the "American school" were Alexander H. Everett, Mathew Carey, Willard Phillips, Henry C. Carey, Friedrich List, Stephen Colwell, Calvin Colton, and E. Peshine Smith. The most important member of this group, and perhaps the most original economic theorist that America has produced, was Henry C. Carey.⁶² The "American school" came into direct touch with the German national economists through Friedrich List, who spent the period between 1825 and 1833 in America and who published in 1827 his *Outlines of American Political Economy*. American influences were of considerable importance in the development of List's thought as finally embodied in his *National System of Political Economy*.⁶³

Until a few years prior to the civil war, the "American school" and the classical political economy coexisted in the United States with relatively little interaction. The adherents of the former belonged to the manufacturing or commercial classes. The latter prevailed among college teachers of the subject. In 1852, however, Calvin Colton, a representative of the "American school," became professor of public economy in Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. In 1853, Francis Bowen, who shared the views of this group as to international trade, succeeded to the Alford professorship at Harvard, and as a part of the duties of his chair, taught political economy until 1871 when Charles F. Dunbar was appointed to a professorship devoted entirely to this subject.

It is necessary to add a word of caution against the too ready acceptance of the impression, current in recent years,

⁶² Cf. Carey's *Essay on the Rate of Wages* (1835), *Principles of Political Economy* (1837-1840), *Past, Present and Future* (1848), *Principles of Social Science* (1857-1860), and *Miscellaneous Works* (1865).

⁶³ Cf. Neill, C. P., *Daniel Raymond*. Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series 15, No. 6, 1897.

that the instruction imparted by the early American teachers of political economy was uniformly mechanical and uninspiring. The reaction against the older economic theory was led by a group of young scholars who returned from the German universities imbued with the theories of the economists of the German historical school, and eager to transform the semi-tutorial methods which characterized much of the work of the older American colleges into the purely lecture method of the Continental institutions. The establishment of the American Economic Association in 1885 marks roughly the date of the triumph of the new movement.⁶⁴ The contemporary conception of the older teaching has been shaped mainly by statements which emanate from this period of controversy. Professor Richard T. Ely⁶⁵ and Dr. Edmund J. James,⁶⁶ in particular, have asserted that the early American teachers of political economy lacked a thorough acquaintance with the practical aspects of economic science, and that they taught the subject from a text-book in a manner more dogmatic and mechanical than the narrowest of their English contemporaries would have countenanced. There is evidence that these strictures were not without a basis in fact. Amasa Walker, for example, in the preface to his *Science of Wealth*, published in 1866, maintained that acquaintance with economic theory on the part of one undertaking to give instruction therein is "by no means indispensable," provided there be "a well-arranged text-book in the hands of both teacher and pupil, with suitable effort on the part of the former and attention on the part of the latter."

The account which we have given, however, of the development of instruction in political economy in American colleges will serve to indicate that, while the condition described by Ely and James, and the method to which Walker gave his approval may have prevailed extensively, they were by no means char-

⁶⁴ Most of the older teachers of political economy, however, held aloof from the American Economic Association at the time of its establishment. Cf. Ely, Richard T., "Report of the Organization of the American Economic Association," in *Publications of the American Economic Association*, Vol. I. (Baltimore, 1886). An interesting figure in the transition from the old to the new in American economic thought and teaching was Francis A. Walker, the first president of the American Economic Association. Cf. Munroe, J. P., *A Life of Francis Amasa Walker* (New York, 1923), esp. Chapter XVI.

⁶⁵ Ely, R. T., *Past and Present of Political Economy* (1884), p. 17.

⁶⁶ James, E. J., *Chairs of Pedagogics in Our Universities* (1887).

acteristic. Of Dr. Thomas Cooper, La Borde, the historian of South Carolina College has written:

"Never, perhaps, was there a better lecturer, a finer teacher. He had the enviable gift of telling well and impressively all that he knew."

Henry Vethake was a thinker of originality and merit, and from him we have one of the most noteworthy of the early pronouncements in favor of the lecture method.⁶⁷ President Nicholas Murray Butler has recently characterized Francis Lieber as one of the greatest of college teachers.⁶⁸ In Carroll Perry's *A Professor of Life*, we have a delightful picture of the instructional methods of Arthur Latham Perry, who taught political economy in Williams College for nearly forty years. Evidence is not lacking, in short, that many of the professors who gave instruction in political economy in the more important institutions were men of special training and interest in the subject, and their teaching was imparted by lectures which were thorough as well as inspiring.

Such were the courses in economic theory in the early American colleges. Compared with the range of treatment and the minute differentiation of the field found in contemporary university departments of economics, they were unspecialized introductions, preserving usually a close relation to one of the older departments, generally philosophy. They constituted, however, an element of conspicuous importance in the curriculum making up the academic discipline of the time which served as an agency of selection, of training, and of preparation for leadership in the formative period of American national life.

⁶⁷ *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. I., pp. 585-587.

⁶⁸ Butler, N. M., *Columbia University, Annual Report of the President, 1921*, pp. 28-29.

High Prices and the Blockade in the Confederacy

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When the Union government proclaimed and enforced a blockade of the southern ports it struck the Confederacy its hardest blow. The prevention of trade with Europe proved to be an obstacle against which the genius of Lee and the bravery and daring of his men were alike helpless. Unless supplies could be obtained the Confederacy was doomed.

At first thought it seems peculiar that a great, fertile agricultural country like the South, rich in all kinds of natural resources, should be so hampered by this enforced isolation. Today conditions in the South are radically different. The weaving mills of North Carolina and the great industrial centres of Alabama can take care of the wants of the people, but in Civil War times the situation of the Confederacy was unique among the countries of the world. Its soil, well nigh boundless in its fertility, produced but one staple commodity, cotton. Manufactured articles needed in the home or on the plantation had to be brought in from the North or from Europe. The coarse cotton shirt that covered the back of the field hand, as well as the broadcloth and fine linen with which his master was dressed, were alike imported from England or Massachusetts. Even the bacon and hominy eaten by the slave were produced, to a large degree, in the North.¹ As far as manufactures were concerned, the South was pitifully weak. Her iron works were almost negligible. There were only three rolling mills and one large foundry below Mason and Dixon's line, and one of these mills was not fitted for heavy work.² In weaving and spinning conditions were a little better, for though North Carolina had some clothing factories even then, they were too few to supply peace time needs and were, of course, hopelessly inadequate in time of war.³

While the Southerner produced only one staple and was dependent on the world for all else, the world in turn was

¹ Dodd, W. E., *Cotton Kingdom*, *passim*.

² Soley, *Blockade and Cruisers* p. 22.

³ Dodd, W. E., *Cotton Kingdom*, *passim*.

dependent on him for cotton. Eighty-four percent of the world's cotton crop came from the states that seceded from the Union. Now it is perfectly obvious that of all the commodities yielded by the earth, few are more important than the white fleece of the cotton stalk. Its uses are so many as to defy enumeration, for they take in the home, the factory and the field. The sudden disappearance of cotton from the markets of the world would, no doubt, more completely disorganize society than a similar absence of any other product, with the exception of iron. In both New England and old England great fortunes were invested in huge mills for the spinning and weaving of cotton fibre and in both countries large armies of employees were dependent on the cotton crop for their daily bread. The Southerner realized keenly the importance of his staple; in fact, he was inclined to overestimate it. He thought that cutting off the supply of cotton from the mills and factories of Europe, for even a short time, would result in such widespread distress that both England and France would use force, if necessary, to ensure a supply of this essential commodity and that thereby Southern independence would be obtained. Some of the more sanguine Southerners thought that the mere possibility of losing the needed cotton would cause these European powers to intervene and free the Confederacy. As a result, when the blockade was first proclaimed they hailed it as an act playing directly into their hands. Consequently few attempts were made to run the blockade in the first months of its existence, when it could have been done with the utmost ease. During this time, in many localities the only visible sign of a blockading fleet was a decrepit ex-ferry boat, that, if well handed, could make four or five knots an hour. Such a relic of better days carried as an armament a few old guns that nobody wanted to see fired because of doubt as to what would happen, both to the gun crew and to the ship.

By the time that the Southerners realized that the English fleet was not theirs to summon on demand, and the need for supplies was becoming acute, the blockade had become sufficiently effective to make running it a hazardous occupation. Attention may well be called to the fact that the Union owes Great Britain a distinct debt of thanks for the forbearance

which she showed during those trying months of 1861 when the blockade was more of an aspiration than an achievement. Had England insisted on the strict enforcement of the blockade in the early months of the war, as she was abundantly entitled to under international law, who can say what the course of American History would have been?

Owing to the fact that the South was not an industrial country in 1861, the problem of supplying her armies with uniforms, guns, medicine and the other necessary articles for carrying on war was a serious one. Coupled with this were the numerous needs of the civilian population. As a result the price of manufactured goods in the Confederacy began to rise. By September of 1862 matches were worth seventy-five cents a box in Richmond. General Dix detained an enterprising trader who was trying to smuggle through a shipment of these articles that had cost him about seventy-five dollars in Baltimore, but for which he could get over nine thousand dollars in Richmond.⁴ Earlier in the year the military officials of the Confederacy had tried to set maximum prices on almost every description of goods, from flour to Dover's powders, and to insist that Confederate currency be taken at par.⁵ Their success in this effort was slight. Manufactured goods in July 1862 were bringing from three hundred to four hundred percent over the cost of production.⁶

While this was happening in the South, the price of cotton was simultaneously soaring in Europe. Four months before hostilities opened, a pound of cotton was worth ten cents, which may be considered a normal price. By the end of 1863 the Liverpool quotations had advanced to eighty-four cents, and a year later cotton obtained the hitherto unheard of sum of one dollar and a quarter a pound.⁷ Here was a combination calculated to attract men with the gamester's instinct, willing to chance everything on the throw of the dice. The risk was great, but so also was the reward. The profits far exceeded those of the most rapacious sugar merchant or government contractor

⁴ Official Records of the War of the Rebellion; series I. vol. 18, p. 398.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 15, p. 782; June 2, 1862.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ser. IV, vol. 2, p. 30.

⁷ Schuckers, J. W., S. P. Chase, p. 322.

of 1918. They were so large, indeed, that if three cargoes went through safely the ship owners could well afford, on the next trip, to lose both ship and cargo. Officials of the Confederate government, in fact, thought that the trade would pay if one cargo in three were lost.⁸ Just so surely as the wealth of the Spanish main drew a host of freebooters willing to take their chances of the Spanish galley-oar, the prison, or even the stake, for the rich booty which rewarded success, so did this forbidden trade find plenty of daring ship captains and adventurous merchants who were willing to gamble with fate.

And what a board they had to gamble on! Study the southern seaboard of the United States on a large scale map. Notice the innumerable inlets and river mouths that indent the coast line giving a light draft steamer endless safe and accessible hiding places. Notice, too, the line of islands running parallel with the coast and practically doubling it. What a chance for a venturesome and able skipper with a pilot who knew the passages through the islands and their outlying reefs into the quiet waters of the sounds! Near at hand were the neutral ports of Bermuda, Nassau, and Havana, which furnished safe harbors where the blockade runners could refit at their leisure and, after taking on cargo, could await a favorable season for a dash for their goal. It would be hard to devise a setting better suited for these elusive adventurers.

As most of the luxuries and many of the comforts of life were not to be had within the Confederacy, the temptation for blockader-runners to cater to this demand instead of bringing in army supplies, was very great. The market was extremely good, prices were high and the goods, for the most part, were not bulky, so that a cargo of such commodities was much more profitable than one of munitions. A single ship would bring in a cargo that was worth a million dollars in Confederate money and fifty thousand dollars of the same currency would buy all the cotton that a ship could carry. After the entire return cargo was purchased there would still be a balance of nine hundred and fifty thousand dollars left, that, as a southern

⁸ Official Records, *op. cit.*

official pointed out, could be used in buying gold and, even if the price was most exorbitant, the owners would still do extremely well on the voyage.⁹

So many yielded to this desire for profits that the government was forced to regulate the business and to limit the amount of goods that could be carried on private account. Each outgoing ship had to devote a portion of its cargo, at first one-third, later one-half, to Confederate cotton and to give security that the same amount on its return trip would be given to government supplies. If a state owned a steamer outright, the government regulations did not apply, but they did if a state had only half of a ship. In that case the owner of the other half had no opportunity to ship anything on his own account. Some of the states, notably North Carolina, protested vigorously against this ruling but without effect, for the government stood firmly by its regulation.¹⁰

Even with these restrictions, the preposterously high prices of cotton in Europe and of supplies in the South secured enormous gains for the fortunate smuggler. Of the two profits made by the successful blockade-runner, the one on cotton was by far the more important. It was, in fact, so great that a French firm, located at New Orleans, offered to bring into the Confederate lines large amounts of such supplies as bacon, shoes and blankets at absolute cost, plus the freight of the articles, on the one condition that they be allowed to buy cotton with the proceeds from whoever had it for sale. The dealers were to deliver the supplies at either Port Hudson or Vicksburg, and they pledged themselves to ship the cotton so bought direct to France. This was certainly a most extraordinary proposition. A firm located in a city held by the Union forces not only offered to sell supplies to the Confederate army, but also promised to deliver them inside the southern lines; furthermore the company was willing to take in payment the bare cost of the goods in cotton. Of course, from the financial side, the riddle is easily unraveled. The difference between the price of cotton in Mississippi and in France was so great that the dealers could well afford to forego the profit on the supplies. But

⁹ *Ibid.*, ser. I, vol. 18, p. 939.

¹⁰ Stephenson, N. W.; *Day of the Confederacy*; *passim*.

how were they to get their cargoes by the Federal guards at New Orleans? The fact that B. F. Butler was then in command at that city goes far to solve this problem. Many peculiar things in the way of transactions in cotton took place under his guardianship. He was trying to foster trade and is reputed to have said that the most notorious secessionist could send his cotton into New Orleans and be perfectly sure of getting his money in return. Despite the apparently favorable terms of this proposition, the Confederate authorities did not avail themselves of it. They seem to have had doubts as to the final destination of the cotton and did not care to risk its being shipped to some northern city.¹¹

The supplies brought in for the Confederacy were, of course, on contract with the government. These agreements were almost invariably made on the "cost plus" basis. That well known method of plundering the tax-payer and adding to the costs of war was far worse during the Civil War than in 1918. Instead of the contractor's being content with a modest ten per cent of his cost, which was the rule in the last war, they demanded an ostensible profit that varied from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent, and the invoice was generally so padded that the actual profit would range from three hundred per cent to as high as twelve hundred. What has the World War to show in comparison to these figures? When such returns rewarded success, it is no wonder that the capture of all the Confederate ports, save one, did not bring about any lessening in the number of blockade-runners. In fact, so eager were the smugglers for their profits that one slipped through the Federal cordon, as the captain thought, and docked at Wilmington the night after the port had been captured by United States troops. Great was the surprise of the unlucky skipper to find himself greeted by men in blue instead of gray.

To an easily contented mind the money made in accordance with the contracts would seem sufficient. These agreements authorized a get-rich-quick scheme that has never been exceeded by the glittering promises of Ponzi or any other of our modern pirates of high finance, for it should be noted that

¹¹ Official Records, ser. IV, vol. 2, p. 174.

the usual profit allowed was one hundred per cent. Not many contracts were made for less than that. But even these excessive gains did not satisfy the souls of the speculators who were gambling on the needs of the Confederacy and the sagacity and daring of their mariners. The inherent weakness of the "cost plus" method of doing business, the temptation which it offers to pad invoices, promptly appeared here when the South was struggling for its existence, just as it did some fifty odd years later when the United States was locked in the death struggle with the German Empire. Under this agreement, the more the goods cost the greater the profit to the merchant. It followed that purchases were made recklessly and large prices were paid for inferior goods. Shoes that could be bought for two dollars and a quarter in San Antonio cost the government nine dollars when run through the blockade. Rifles that were worth seven dollars in England were billed to the Confederacy as costing three times that figure. In one contract the Confederate Quartermaster was induced to raise the rate of profit to the dealer from one hundred to one hundred and fifty percent, and eventually these seven dollar rifles cost the South between fifty and sixty dollars apiece. Inasmuch as this contract set no limit on the amount the supplies were to cost, these exorbitant prices had to be paid, despite the protests of officials, in order to maintain the credit of the government.¹²

In cases where the percentage of profit allowed by the contract was low, say from fifty to sixty-five per cent, the dealer saw to it that he was compensated by the low valuation placed on the cotton that he was to receive in return. Some attempts were made to check this by fixing the price of cotton, but the demand for supplies was so great that the effort was a failure and cotton continued to be very much undervalued. A very good example of this is a contract made between the Confederacy and a London merchant named Collie. According to this agreement Mr. Collie was to bring into the South supplies costing two hundred thousand pounds sterling for which he was to receive fifty percent over the invoice, paid in cotton at six pence a pound. Now this does not seem to be an especially

¹² *Ibid.*, ser. I, vol. 26, pt. 2, p. 568.

large profit when the risk is considered, but upon analysis it looks somewhat different. In the first place Mr. Collie was to receive three hundred thousand pounds sterling, or, at the contract price, thirty thousand bales of cotton for his goods. But as this cotton was selling in Liverpool for two shillings a pound, the Englishman's gross return on the contract would amount to one million, two hundred thousand pounds sterling, giving him a profit of approximately five million dollars, or about five hundred per cent. Such a yield is usually regarded as sufficient by even the most grasping of our modern profiteers. The contract further provided that it was to be construed in a spirit of liberality. That clause, so far as the merchant was concerned, must have impressed the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury as being slightly ironical and entirely superfluous.¹³

This Collie contract, notorious as it was, is far from being the most flagrant. One Missourian agreed with the Confederate officials to ship goods to them at Matamoras that were worth, according to the London agent, some six hundred and fifty thousand dollars. For this he was to receive one million, eight hundred and odd thousand dollars, paid in cotton, delivered to the same place, at twenty cents a pound. At this time cotton at Liverpool was worth sixty cents and the freight between the two ports was ten cents a pound. So the Confederacy, under that agreement, bound itself to give cotton worth over four and one half million dollars for goods that could be bought for six hundred and fifty thousand, giving the dealer a profit of about six hundred per cent. This contract is the more glaring because it is not a case of running the blockade at all but of merely shipping goods from one neutral port, London, to another, Matamoras.¹⁴ Consequently there was no risk of capture and loss of cargo. It is not to be presumed that this Missourian died a poor man.

The most colossal piece of profiteering, however, is given in a contract whereby the dealer on an initial investment of forty thousand dollars in greenbacks, would make in return the tidy little sum of four million nine hundred twenty-eight

¹³ *Ibid.*, ser. IV. vol. 3, p. 588.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 982.

thousand dollars. Just how this amount is obtained is worth noting. Before any goods were brought in the contractor was given permission to buy and ship out of the country two thousand bales of cotton at one hundred dollars a bale in Confederate money, or forty dollars in United States currency. These two thousand bales would bring eight hundred thousand dollars in New York. The merchant was to invest this amount in supplies which were to be delivered into the trans-Mississippi district of the Confederacy. On these goods a profit of sixty-five per cent was to be allowed, so that the total amount due the contractor would be one million three hundred and twenty thousand dollars. This was to be paid for in cotton at one hundred dollars a bale, thus calling for thirteen thousand two hundred bales which were worth in New York five million two hundred and eighty thousand dollars. The total receipts of the contractor would thus be six million and eighty thousand dollars and his total expenditure, including freight on the cotton at ten dollars a bale and the amount spent for supplies, would be one million one hundred and fifty-two thousand dollars, giving him the profit mentioned above of something under five million dollars.¹⁵

These contractors and dealers evidently did not take up the business of blockade-running merely for the excitement nor for purely patriotic reasons.

There is, however, another side to the matter which must be considered, namely, that while the blockade-runners did make enormous profits out of the needs of the Confederacy, they did what they could to supply those needs. Between the last of April and the first of August 1862, nearly fifty thousand stands of arms were smuggled into the southern ports.¹⁶ After the blockade had become much more rigid, during the last year of the war, sixty-nine thousand rifles and large amounts of saltpetre, lead, meat and other necessities were successfully run through the Federal fleets into the Confederate harbors.¹⁷

The Confederacy was fighting for its life, and could not stop to count pennies. These supplies were not to be had in

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ser. I Vol. 34, pt. 2, pp. 823ff. Vol. 26, pt. 2, pp. 577ff.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, ser. IV, vol. 2, p. 52.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 930.

the South and yet without them, battles could not be fought nor could armies be maintained in the field. The munitions must be procured, let the cost be what it might. What did the enormous profits that some contractor might make matter to those ardent souls to whom the cause was dearer than life itself, if thereby independence could be won? Mr. Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War, knew very well the exorbitant gains that were made by the contractors, but he also knew the needs of the Confederate army. In his opinion, "it is impossible to calculate the good that has resulted to the armies of the Confederacy from the successful blockade-running vessels. The importations of blankets, shoes, arms and supplies of every description have been of the utmost service and it is difficult to say how we should have done without the material aid thus rendered."¹⁸

War is a touchstone that brings out at the same time the best and the worst in man, and under its searching test men will be found who are perfectly willing to sacrifice their lives for their country, but, at the same time, are not above making money out of her needs.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, ser. I, vol. 35, pt. 3, p. 638, Oct. 15, 1864.

The Genius of Gusto

J. FRANK DOBIE
Stillwater, Oklahoma

I

"Lazaro," says the hungry hidalgo to the hero of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, "I promise thee that thou hast the best grace in eating that ever I did see any man have; for there is no man that seest thee eat, but seeing thee feed, shall have appetite, although they be not ahungered." Perhaps, as Lazaro caustically comments, the hidalgo was lying for a purpose. However that be, he hit upon a most lucid illumination of that rare quality called gusto. Actively, it is a zestful sympathy extending itself towards any of the "number of things" that the world is "so full of"; passively, it is that inherent flavor in certain persons or objects that provokes zestful sympathy in whoever attends them. Actively, it is old King Cole,

"And a merry old soul was he,
He called for his pipe,
And he called for his bowl,
And he called for his fiddlers three."

Passively, it makes one want to lean for an hour on the balusters of a certain stairway in the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art and ripen with gazing on Leloir's "In His Cups"; listen to the cries of London streets as remembered out of old plays; ride in a coach of six with postillion and guard over the "great North Road" into London; or be born again to die cheerfully with Sir Richard Grenville in "the fight of the one and the fifty-three."

Gusto is the stir-up cup to the animal spirits. It implies a certain healthy grossness, and, hence, is essentially masculine. The choicest examples of it in biography and literature cluster about inns and taverns, from the clinking cannikin of "jolly good ale and old" in some unnamed "alehouse on a heath" to the Mitre in Fleet Street where Doctor Johnson sat so amply on his "throne of human felicity." They belong to the Boar's Head in Eastcheap with valiant Jack Falstaff taking his ease

and never a thought of the score to pay; to the Apollo, where, surrounded by his "sons," Rare Ben Johnson, "mountain bellied and rocky faced," like "a great Spanish galleon"

"drank as he would write
In flowing measures filled with flame and sprite";

to the Mermaid, where met and were merry all the great names that Shakespeare's leads. "And when we were gone thence," Master Francis Beaumont wrote long ago,

"We left an air behind us, which alone
Was able to make the two next companies
Right witty!"

Of these old haunts and their immortal drinkers, one can hardly think without feeling his senses grow warmer and his soul expand; "*his heart is at their festival.*"

Yet, paradoxically enough, it is not generally either in the writings or in the lives of braggart Epicureans that genuine gusto is met. We may be enjoined to

"fill the Cup that clears
To-day of past Regret and future Fears";

but in all the *Rubaiyat* there is the sad, sad melancholy of

"To-morrow!—Why, To-morrow I may be
Myself with Yesterday's Sev'n Thousand Years."

In all the eat, drink, and be merry songs of the Cavaliers, gusto is hardly, for there is in them the minor key of regret, the fevered consciousness of fleeting hours, the lament, lurking behind, that the smiling flower of to-day

"To-morrow will be dying."

Almost the supreme example of gusto in English literature is the picture of Tam O'Shanter "planted unco right" with Souter Johnie,

"Fast by an ingle bleezin' finely,
Wi' reamin' swats that drank divinely.

* * * * *

Kings may be blest, but Tam was glorious,
O'er a' the ills o' life victorious!"

But had Tam paused really to consider—as Burns was always pausing to consider—the evanescence of the “poppy spread” or of the “rainbow’s lovely form,” his gusto would have dimmed like a lantern light sooted by a draught of wind. The Pantagruelian in his element thinks not of “the reckoning when the banquet’s o’er,” the melancholy “*quart d’heure de Rabelais*.”

For gusto is the apotheosis of Now. It is the absolute conceived apart from man’s destiny or moral ends. It exists in the environs of the present alone. The future is in eclipse and coming events can cast no shadow before them. The past has forgot to lurk at heel; there is no past except as merry and mellowed memory summons it. There is only the bursting hour of Now—enough, all, supreme—into which the buoyant quaffers of life would stuff eternity, as if they “had resolved to live a blank the rest of their dull years.” “Feasting bay-filleted and thunder-free,” they are gloriously satisfied with *what is*, their admiration unalloyed by envy, their prejudices untainted with desire for reformation.

Such a quaffer of life was that Scot “far off among the hills” of whom Lockhart tells. Having been to the annual Abbotsford Hunt and then to the lyric feast that always followed, at the conclusion of which he had perhaps taken an extra *doch and dorrach*, the braw man alighted at his own door with these words: “Ailie my woman, I’m ready for my bed—and, oh lass, I wish I could sleep for a tow-month, for there’s only ae thing in this world worth living for, and that’s the Abbotsford Hunt.”

Here with the convives of gusto is “God’s plenty,” and time to tarry and capacity to dispatch “great meals of beef and iron and steel.” Ventripotent and prodigal-hearted, they create an atmosphere that has the amplitude of immortality. The sweep of their laughter is the very “wind and hope of humanity.” The paradox of their charity is this: that in the mellow aura of camaraderie and bonhommie, their Christianly ears are waxed to the disturbing “still, sad music of humanity.” The wells of life and health that gush up in them cannot be capped by pity or mercy.

Your true gustonian would, in the manner of the quaint ancient, have his neck the length of a crane’s, the longer to

taste what he swallows; and yet the thing is so good that out of sheer sympathy he would translate himself into it even while swallowing it. Stevenson is taken for a peddler, and he leaps to identify himself with the rôle; he comes alongside a barge, and he had "rather be a bargee than occupy any position under heaven"; he arrives at "middle age," and he cries out, "It likes me," and would "sit here for twenty years, with a packet of tobacco and a drink, and talk of art and women."

Humor is an ingredient of gusto, but as such it is the humor of good fellowship rather than of the Meredithian comic muse. It does not necessarily awaken that "thoughtful laughter" which Meredith held to be "the true test of comedy." The laughter of gusto is essentially from the diaphragm, not of the head. It points no finger at the foibles of human kind, essays not the role of *censor morum*. It has little to do with morals or ethics or law—save the law of earthly substantiveness and abounding vitality. It is something elemental, and the refiners refine it all away, as Pope refined away the downright savory "porter-like language" of Homer's heroes. Yet, though elemental in its humor, gusto is more pagan than savage. It is hardly savage at all. It requires a musqueteer's stomach staunch for "healths five fathom deep" and something of an Olympian's taste.

II

Although the cheer of gusto is often bibulous, perhaps more examples of it can be drawn from eating—which, however, in the stout days of old implied the tankard as well as the trencher and charger—than from mere liquoring. "Of olde time," says frenetical John Stow, "when friends did meet and were disposed to be merrie, they went not to dine and supper in taverns, but to the cookes, where they called for meate what them liked, which they always found ready dressed at a reasonable rate." That was when Eastcheape was—a cooks' row!

Mr. Chesterton finds in the heroes of Sir Walter Scott no characteristic "so typical or so worthy of humor as their dispositions to linger long over their meals." Dinmont, for example, breathless with a tale to tell, can tell nothing until he has had up a proper dinner for himself and Bertram, having eaten, as he expresses it, "nothing to speak of all day" (which means,

interpolates Scott, "three pounds of cold roast mutton that he had discussed at his mid-day stage"). The Laird of the North could "discuss" as many pounds of solid food as any of his heroes; and one would have to traverse many and many a "lang Scots mile" of chronicle to arrive upon a better proportioned or more robust example of gusto than Sir Walter at his own table in the ripe days at Abbotsford.

Like him, Dickens loved to eat, and I imagine that some of his most gutable passages were written after such a breakfast as he describes to his wife from a Yorkshire inn: "We have had for breakfast, toast, cakes, a Yorkshire pie, a piece of beef about the size and much the shape of my portmanteau, tea, coffee, ham, and eggs." There is a heartiness to the dinners of Dickens' lawyers that suggests the ruddy solidity of old pictures of John Bull. "And perhaps you wouldn't mind," says Mr. Grewgious in *Edwin Drood*, "stepping over to the hotel in Furnival's and asking them to send in materials for laying the cloth. For dinner we'll have a tureen of the hottest and strongest soup available, and we'll have the best made dish that can be recommended, and we'll have a joint (such as a haunch of venison), and we'll have a goose, or a turkey, or any little stuffed thing of the sort that may happen to be in the bill of fare—in short, we'll have whatever there is on hand."

Although too generally regarded as a concrete illustration of the "Disagreeable People" of whom he wrote so pleasingly, William Hazlitt was a man of generous gusto all compact, and his soundest desire, in hungry contemplation of a meal being prepared, was "to be known by no other title than *the Gentleman in the parlor*." Where in the world might we find a wholesomer relish than in his minute record of a certain dinner? "It was on the 10th of April, 1798, that I sat down to a volume of the *New Eloise*, at the inn of Llangollen, over a bottle of sherry and a cold chicken." How roundly and gustily he launches forth to prove by a dinner that the soul of Rabelais had passed into Thomas Amory's *John Bunce*! It must be granted that Hazlitt himself has no Pantagruelian appetite: nevertheless, from his stomach his heart takes warmth and his imagination solidity. It is with the phrase, "I have a partridge getting ready for my supper," that he begins one of his richest essays.

III

Let me not be understood, though, as rashly holding that all the gusto of recorded life associates itself with "cakes and ale." Cyrano de Bergerac makes a memorable meal off one half of a macaroon, one glass of water, and one single grape! Montaigne relates of a fine fellow who was wont to dine on the steam of a roast. Colonel Beriah Sellers in his grand way banqueted the guest on a basin of raw turnips—"imported at a frightful expense"! Falstaff's "stuffed cloak-bag of guts" has nothing to do with his lordly eminence in the realm of gusto; the source of that lies rather in his incontinent capacity for enjoyment. He might have appropriated the widow's cruse with as rich a zest as he appropriated whole hogsheads from the Hostess. "What," bursts out Sir Toby Belch, "is it a world to hide virtues in?" And all his "quaffing and drinking" is but an incidental result of a stalwart refusal to "confine" himself.

Indeed, there is a kind of gusto that springs from lean and hungry abstemiousness: the gusto of vituperation. The damning, though, must not be malicious in the manner of Pope's thrusts; it gushes from a pride in the privilege of fulminating, and from a joy in the knowledge that the fulminations are eagerly awaited by victim and spectator alike. Landor's savage and witty mockery which the whole world—at least the "perhaps thirty people in the world who could not be described by the adjective 'vulgar'"—came avidly to expect and thus to feed, is exactly in point.

The qualities and kinds of gusto, after all, are no more amenable to the catalogue than are those of humor or romance. After we have dulled ourselves with analysis, we only know that certain men of the past (and perhaps two or three of the present), certain fictional characters, certain scenes, certain ways and faces and places give us, in a phrase from Roosevelt, who knew, "to drink the wine of life with brandy in it." Lamb's way of saying a thing; Doctor Johnson's rolling himself back in the carriage and saying, "I'm a good fellow"; Thackeray's slapping his leg and crying out, "By God, I am a genius," after he had written the great scene between Rawdon

Crawley and Lord Steyne; Dutch interiors; Benjamin Haydon's description of a butcher by the honest name of Sowerby whose ambition was to feed genius: "Yes, sir, Mrs. Siddons, sir, has eat my meat, sir; never was such a woman for chops, sir!"; Handel at a tavern ordering dinner for three, and then when he grumbled at the waiter's delay and was asked where the company was, bellowing out, with a reverberating oath, "I am the company"; Gargantua's birth, Charles Lever's life, and old Peter Featherstone's death; and, lastly, I know not why, Sir Richard Drake standing in the sand with blood up to his ankles, before the treasure house in Nombre de Dios:—all these things and ten thousand more move in me such sympathy that some physical response can hardly be restrained. Such are the very gust, the *brandy*, of life.

With respect to years, gusto belongs to no particular stage in a man's life. While he was yet a collegian, Thomas Amory, that "prodigious hand at matrimony, divinity, a song, and a peck," played Falstaff. Still, one senses that the ideal gustonian should be "inclining to threescore," the age with "some relish of the saltiness of time" in it. It ought to be an age when appetite is not too lush to apprehend good digestion. Sir Roger de Coverley enjoying his "roast beef stomach" almost to the last day of his fifty-six years, is a fine illustration of the blend. But the capacious-souled Diderot ignored the digestion when, with a jest, he persisted in eating the lethal apricot at the age of seventy—only a fraction older than was Dumas when he died his immortal death of the great laugh.

No matter of what years, men of gusto are always representative of their times and nations, like Hogarth and Fielding, Cervantes and Rabelais. "Now do you not see," says Balzac's Abbe of Touraine in praise of Rabelais, "that these volumes are French, joyfully French, wildly French, French before, French behind, French to the backbone!" The real men of gusto savor of their own earth's soil. Like Chanticleer, they can make the sun rise only with their talons deep in the clean, fertile dunghills of their native barnyards. They may live in exile like the enigmatical creator of Baron Munchausen; they may be shut up in town garrets like dear old Goldsmith; they may place the scene of the play in "Illyria" like Shakespeare,

but always they cling to their own racy provincialisms just as Sir Walter Raleigh kept, in court and in prison tower, even to the block, his broad Devon accent. They live, and their lives fortify like some old cordial

"Cooled a long age in the deep delved earth."

Then they die, "babbling of green fields" and playing "with flowers."

I wish that Hazlitt had written an essay on "The Most Gustable Persons of History"; yet any selection would call for views as divergent as those expressed in "On Persons One Would Wish to have Seen." There are two persons, however, that scarcely anyone would fail to select: Richard Steele and Henry Fielding, who were "so formed for happiness" that Lady Mary Wortley Montague thought it a pity that both were not immortal. "I am sorry for H. Fielding's death," she writes in a letter from her exile, "not only as I shall read no more of his writings, but I believe he lost more than others, as no man enjoyed life more than he did, though few had less reason to do so. . . . His happy constitution (even when he had, with great pains, half demolished it) made him forget everything when he was before a venison pastry, or over a flask of champagne; and I am persuaded he has known more happy moments than any prince upon earth. His natural spirits gave him rapture with his cook-maid and cheerfulness when he was fluxing in a garret."

Crowding upon these gusty souls, though he inclined rather toward finality and probably carried a parasol, would come Pepys. It takes little to please him, and whatever does please, "pleases mightily." Everything from a sermon to a "hog's harslet"—"a piece of meat I love"—throws him into a veritable "glut of content." Over some man's present to his wife of a pair of white gloves and "forty pieces of gold" his heart is so cheered that he can "eat no victuals almost for dinner." He learns "to trimme *himself* with a razer," he comes upon a letter written by Archbishop Cranmer, he sees that an old silk standard ripped up will "serve to line a bed," and all these things are nigh to make him burst with "great content." At news of the Dutch victory he must spare himself "something

extraordinary" and buys "a colored silk farrandin"; in Holland he is positively "with child" to see the strange sights. Thus his "glut of content" is never really glutted; whatever is spread before him he will devour with rapturous relish. His burning sympathy runs out like a fire on the prairie to lap up every experience, and having kissed the very much alive Nell Gwyn, he rushes to kiss also the exhumed skull of a queen dead two hundred years that he may say he has kissed a queen.

In another way Pepys exemplifies the most refined form of gusto, the gusto of memory. Mr. Irving Babbitt has said that "Rousseau perfected the felicity of Epicureanism by prolonging it through reverie." Rousseau was too sentimental and self-conscious to be a man of gusto, and he was born nine years after Pepys died; but substitute Pepys for "Rousseau" and the word gusto for "Epicureanism," and the fact is exactly put. Visiting Eton, Pepys remarks "the custom pretty of boys cutting their names in the shuts of the window when they go to Cambridge, by which many a one hath lived to see himself a Provost and Fellow that hath his name in the window standing." What a pity that Pepys's eyes grew weak, preventing him, perchance, from the sight of his own name, coupled with many and many a delicious circumstance, "standing" in his own diary! "Every man is grave alone," said Emerson in explanation of the absence of humor from his journals; Pepys proved that a man alone might live as merry and gustful as a room full of true livers. He wrote from memory for the memory of the future. Thus, says he, "I ended this month with the greatest joy that ever I did in my life, because I have spent the greatest part of it with abundance of joy, and honour, and pleasant journeys, and brave entertainments, and without cost of money."

In a manner faintly remindful of Pepys's teaching his wife the multiplication table, George Borrow tried to teach Isopel Berners the Armenian language. This, though, is their solitary resemblance. Borrow's "humor" is a kind of apostrophizing phlegm, whereas Pepys was born under a star that danced. The zest of Pepys often seems nervous; that of Borrow is muscular and sinewy. Hence, Borrow is more genuine in his gusto, having more of that robustness which, very justly, Jos-

eph Conrad has observed to be the sign of "a good moral balance." "I am a person of primitive habits, and there is nothing like the pump in weather like this," said he when the landlord urged Jenny to show the gentleman to the wash-basin. So Jenny pumped, and, "Surely," said the person of primitive habits, "this is one of the pleasantest moments of life." Borrow was a true Britisher out of the old rock, whether as sponsor of a prize fight or of the Welsh poet, Ab Gwilyn; whether as gipsy rover, tinker, philologist, Armenian protagonist, horse tamer, Bible distributor, or worshipper of "plain, unabashed Defoe." His table, though long, was narrow, so to speak; but he tasted all the fare thereon—except woman—and all that he tasted was seasoned by the salt of his own egregious and insolent palate.

But the list of honorable names of gusto were too long to tell over. There is Hogarth, whose artistic temperament was precisely that of a sturdy, jovial London citizen with a hearty stomach for "roast beef of old England" and an honest contempt for any painting ever painted off the British Isles. There is Smollett, who, as Henley puts it, did "the stinks and nastinesses with peculiar gusto." There is Sir Thomas Urquart, immortal for his translation of Rabelais, so deliciously and thoroughly stubborn. It would be ungenerous to omit James White, whose beneficence inspired *The Praise of Chimney-Sweepers*. His egoism in its generosity was immense. He so loved his own self that he cried to all the world to come, partake, and be filled. Having written and disposed of *The Original Letters of Sir John Falstaff*, he haunted book stalls in search of second-hand copies to give his friends for the purpose of converting them to Falstaffian principles. "He would talk you nothing but Falstaff the long evening through," wrote Lamb—and thus, together, they "heard the chimes at midnight."

IV

"Think," cries Shakespeare, "there's livers out of England." And so there are and so there have been. Nevertheless, of the modern nations of the world, the British "livers" alone seem, in some unexplained way, to have had the elements

so mixed in them that, in large, their most representative men and books are of pure gusto. Next to Britain, comes France. She has Rabelais, sole terrestrial peer to Falstaff. She has the Cyrano of history as well as him of the Rostand gesture. She has, together with the immortal Gascon of his creation, Alexandre Dumas—swordsman, trencherman, open-necked laughter, one of the "noble prodigals of life"—who, so the story goes, when he had finished *The Three Musketeers* midway up the page, slashed a line under it and on the same leaf began *The Count of Monte Cristo*.

Some might think that Moliere surely and perhaps the creator of Tartarin should be included. But in Moliere the laughter is too thoughtful; he laughs to laugh out of court the very object of his laughter. In all the Tarasconic singing and dancing of the farandole in Daudet, there is a restraining cynicism. As we read *Les Femmes Savantes* or *Tartarin de Tarascon*, however charmed with the humor, we do not join in, do not identify ourselves with the characters. The critical humor of Moliere and Daudet is expressive of that art of living which the French understand better than any other people. Nevertheless, there is a body to gusto, a something "solid like a principle" that Gallic rapier thrusts of wit and the professional pursuit of pleasure do not attain to.

Spain can offer Cervantes, who, in his humanity, was prouder of his nickname, "The Cripple of Lepanto"—won from wounds received in battle—than he was of *Don Quixote*, and who gaily went to death quoting from an old romance:

"Puesta ya el pie en el estribo."

"One foot already in the stirrup."

She can offer, too, Quevedo, braggart, "red with the blood of the brave," and the character of Lazarillo de Tormes. However, something of ironic mockery in all of these Spanish alloys the frankness of gusto.

The most gustable autobiography ever written is Italian. Cellini's egotism is absolutely infallible, and it is precisely the heroizing of the ego that gives his gusto its Renaissance *bodyness*. Fra Filippo Lippi had immense natural sympathy—he delighted to paint the grimace of a street urchin and he gave

the Madonna the flesh of his mistress. But in all the Renaissance Latins so fain of the world and the life that's "too big to pass for a dream," the "intelligent wolf" looks out. Casanova, belated a century or so, is inexpressibly fascinating, but he is too ironically tricky for the openness of gusto. "My sister Liberata," says Cellini, "after having for a while lamented her father, her husband, and a little son she had lost, began to prepare supper; and during the rest of the evening there was not a word spoken of the dead, but the conversation turned upon all the most joyous and gay topics that could be thought of; thus we supped together in the greatest cheerfulness imaginable." The flow of spirits delights, engages, astonishes, but awakens distrust. If we contrast it with Falstaff settled into the comfortable ease of mine inn or the merry midnight scene which the "adored" Sir Toby Belch closes with: "Come, come, I'll burn some sack; 'tis too late to go to bed now," we realize that this Latin flow of spirits is—whatever else it may be—only the spume of gusto, that it wants the deep generosity, the guilelessness, the free disposition of mellowed gusto itself. Perhaps Verdi producing "Falstaff" at eighty, and bursting out into laughter many a time as he composed it, realized the quality.

America, the birth-land of glad books, Chamber of Commerce optimism, and newspaper prizes for smiles, has little to offer of unadulterated gusto, though she can submit Roosevelt, David Crockett, and middle-aged—not the elderly—Mark Twain.

The Germans have grossness, not gusto. "There is too much beer in the German intellect," said Nietzsche. As for the Scandinavians, they are too near the north-pole, too dreary, too purposeful to summon one gustonian. Ibsen, with "a mission here in life," found "no place left for friends." The Russians do not possess will enough for companionship in the robust company assembled; or they are too dreamy, too terribly conscious of the tragedy of peoples.

One nation, however, in a particular kind of expression rivals the gusto of the British—the Netherlands in painting. The Dutch painters of the seventeenth century had just the

right proportion of "wise passiveness"—as opposed to German heavy passiveness and the Italian lack of any passiveness at all. The fantastic Geroud Dou, whose favorite subject was lusty fishwives and who was inordinately fond of painting himself in fine postures; Jan Steen, brewer, tavern-keeper, always genial and tolerant, whether painting "Grace before Meat" or a doctor at a death bed; Franz Hals, the Falstaff of them all, now selling the productions of his pupils to pay the tavern bills, now painting "The Laughing Cavalier": these and their school caught on to canvas a life jolly, expansive, rubescent, and expressed its very tone and touch. They were intensely representative of nationality; yet they were *livers* with a heedless abstraction from politics or ethics. They excelled in painting signs! While Holland was struggling for life with Louis XIV, with Cromwell and England, with Spain; while civil wars raged within and foreign armies stormed without; while the mob-torn bodies of the brothers de Witt were being hung up by the heels to a lamp-post, and Admiral de Ruyter was freeing Christian slaves in the Mediterranean and chasing the English fleet up the Thames, these Dutch painters were doing little else than living in taverns and other places of pleasure and painting what they saw there. They were immensely satisfactorily located. But this outburst of Dutch gusto was phenomenal rather than abiding as has been the gusto of England, or even of France.

Yet to find English gusto in all its "bloomy flush of life," one must go back three centuries to the drama, lived even better than written, of the Elizabethans. In nearly all the plays of Shakespeare it shows, "as wholesome as sweet"—in his most inconsiderable characters, in his most random lines: as in the "Carriers" who, at the opening of Act II of the first part of *Henry IV*, "witch the world" for a moment with their robustuous reality and then are gone forever; as in Gonzalo's chance remark:

"How lush and lusty the grass looks! how green!"

We find the same sort of thing in the street scene in Plymouth with which Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West* opens—"a true hearty Anglicism of feelings," Lamb calls it. It smacks in

the speech and being of the racy London citizens of Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday*. The peddlers, the ballad-singer, the gingerbread woman in Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, the citizen and his wife in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*—these are filled with the very thing. The bracing atmosphere of old London heaves up and hoists along the scenes in *Eastward Ho!* There is a buoyancy in the very names of certain characters from Middleton: *The Roaring Girl* ("that lusty and sturdy wench"), Sir Bounteous Progress. If the annals of the time were but fuller, along with the dramatists would show a host of other "great hearted gentlemen" rammed to the breech with the quality that makes their literature so hale and ruddy.

As the seventeenth century left Elizabethanism behind, rich living did not altogether pass away as did the rich drama. It persisted through Puritanism and blended with the heartless mockery of the Restoration. To read Fuller's *Worthies* or John Aubrey's *Lives* is to encounter a salubrity of "humors" maintained with a zest truly heroic.

The sea is, too, the "soil" of Britain. Hence the gusto magniloquent and magnificent in the *Voyages* collected by Hakluyt. I, for one, am profoundly grateful to Mr. Masefield for carrying on the tradition and reviving some of the expansive lives of seventeenth century seamen. In him we can see Captain Ward again and other fine pirates disporting themselves "after the manner of sailors" with "the humming ale" and the "virtuous sacke." In him we can hear Captain Jennings boasting that he "had ever rejoiced more to hear the cannon than the sound of the church bell, and that he fought not 'as chickens fight' for meat; 'but for store of gold to maintain riot'."

Whether on sea or on land, though not equally in every age, from the blithesome days when the Squire, the Friar, and the Wife of Bath rode forth from the Tabard Inn and thrifty Harry Bailey quarreled with the Pardoner, down to the crew of the "Do or Die" in Conrad's *Youth*, the strong salt wind of gusto has blown through the pages of English literature and hued the complexions of English men. Two hundred

years after Chaucer, it swept away into tatters the belling sails of the Spanish Armada and swelled into spaciousness the times of Queen Elizabeth. In the polished years of the eighteenth century when one might expect the wind to lay, it blew whence it listed upon Henry Fielding—and it seemed to list to blow from the four corners of heaven. As it blew across Scott fields of romance into the respectable times of Victoria, it inspired Dickens, made Browning "alive and hale," and swirled great eddies under the skirts of that sometimes "rather dreary creature," George Eliot.

Before our own moon entered her obscurity, the same freshening wind came like a morning zephyr from *Under the Greenwood Tree*, blowing away the Aeschylean irony of Thomas Hardy and casting up the raciest characters. The gloom of Egdon Heath is lighted up by the bonfire on Rainbarrow and forgotten in a bluff heartiness of native speech that extends itself even to "a hearty good funeral." Finally, it is something to have been coterminous with the appearance of Christopher Vance "croaking the hinseck." As to how the wind is blowing today, the chart is in the making.

Forgetting the present, why the British should have such an overplus of gusto as compared with other nations, I do not know, any more than I know why the Germans are the most efficient people in the world, or the French the most intellectual. Perhaps Goethe gave an explanation of the matter when he declared the superiority of Englishmen to lie "precisely in their having the courage to be what nature made them." Whatever the explanation, from the dawn of British nationality to the issue before the last of *Punch*, in drama, in fiction, in the pulses of poetry, in living life, with hearty animality and jovial lustihood, an unnumbered succession of British men have marched "to some enterprise that hath a stomach in 't."

"Gorgo": A Great Historical Novel

W. ROLFE BROWN*
Duke University

I

A personal contact with old Athens in the heyday of her glory and in the days of her waning power, a real and thrilling experience in the hard-fought battles of the Peloponnesian War, and an intimate association with two faithful lovers in a charming love story,—this is the happy lot of one who reads *Gorgo*, a novel which was written some twenty years ago by Dr. Charles Kelsey Gaines, professor of Greek in St. Lawrence University and which lately, after strange and most unmerited neglect, has become the object of renewed interest. The Athenian statesman Theramenes, who lived during the latter half of the fifth century before Christ, is the central figure of the story, the historical accuracy of which cannot be questioned and the charm and vital interest of which grip one's attention in a way that is rarely equalled by a modern literary production. The book is written in the first person, and one who is conversant with the actual historical facts with which it deals feels inclined to regard it as the autobiography of Theramenes, a feeling that is greatly increased by the unique and striking prologue with which the story is introduced.

To one who would view the work of Dr. Gaines with highest appreciation a brief glimpse at the history of Greece is invaluable. During the closing years of the Peloponnesian War, that series of internecine struggles between Athens and Sparta which reduced Athens from the zenith of her glory attained under the leadership of Pericles to almost utter ruin, there arose to prominence in Athens a young aristocrat, Theramenes, the son of the knight Hagnon. In the political turmoil that accompanied the military disasters of Athens, Theramenes played a very important part. He was instrumental in the overthrow of the democracy in 411 B.C., and somewhat later

*This essay won the prize in a contest under the auspices of Kenyon College in 1922, designed "to promote better knowledge of" the work of Charles Kelsey Gaines. With revisions herein incorporated, it won the Braxton Craven Prize of Trinity College in 1923.—[Editors].

he took a leading part in abolishing the short-lived oligarchic government in favor of a more liberal and more democratic body of rulers. At the downfall of Athens in 404 B.C. he negotiated the peace with Sparta and became one among thirty men who undertook to govern Athens in an extremely despotic way. Disagreement with his fellow rulers led to his death. These apparent shifts back and forth between the aristocratic and popular parties have caused Theramenes to be regarded as a turncoat, and as such he has found his place in history. Historians have not, however, been unanimous in declaring that he was of bad character, and it has been the purpose of Dr. Gaines in *Gorgo* to remove the uncertainty that surrounds the character of Theramenes and to present him as a patriot.

Thus we may say that, in presenting *Gorgo* to twentieth century readers, Dr. Gaines had a three-fold purpose. He attempted to produce a novel accurate in historical detail, he tried to justify the character of Theramenes, and he endeavored to produce a work of literary merit. Did he succeed in accomplishing these three things? Let us, by a closer examination of the book, seek to discover the answer to this question.

II

In order to establish the accuracy of the historical background of *Gorgo*, it is not necessary to give in complete detail all of the historical events which are recorded in the book. Suffice it to say that, so far as details are concerned, one may take the history of Thucydides and the *Hellenica* of Xenophon and find, by a comparison of these writings with *Gorgo*, that Dr. Gaines left out no essential part in reciting the stories of battles and sieges which come to the ears of the youthful Theramenes, and in recounting those in which he represented Theramenes as having taken part.

Just as any red-blooded boy in a modern city follows with keenest interest the changing fortunes of his country's arms, so does the boy Theramenes in ancient Athens. The siege of Plataea, the narrowly averted massacre of the Mytileneans, and the unprecedented humbling of Sparta by the forced surrender at Sphacteria are all recited in the minutest detail. Even a

thing of minor historical interest, the presenting of the *Clouds*¹ of Aristophanes in the theatre at Athens, is not omitted.

Probably the one outstanding event of the whole Peloponnesian War was the ill-starred expedition of the Athenians against Syracuse, and it is in the brilliant and accurate account of this expedition that Dr. Gaines scores his greatest triumph in minute historical accuracy. From the very beginning, when all Athens was athrob with the wild hope of conquering Sicily and Carthage and of then turning to dominate all Hellas, and when she was thrown into a frenzy of superstition and fear by the mysterious mutilation of the Hermae, down to the last sad chapter when the entire army bowed in defeat and was forced into slavery, the added warmth and personal touch of the storyteller's art are the only things that distinguish the work of Dr. Gaines from the record of Thucydides.

As we turn from the grewsome record of the Sicilian expedition to the development of affairs in Athens, we find that the rapidly succeeding changes of government, changes in which Theramenes was greatly concerned, are given with complete accuracy. Naval warfare looms again as the chief center of interest. Lysander, the rising young admiral of Sparta, flashes upon the scene of action in the battle of Notium, and Athens revives her waning hopes in the brilliant victory at the Arginusae Islands, only to bow in complete defeat two years later at the overwhelming victory of Lysander at Aegospotami.

A conquered city now sits in subjection to a government dictated by the conqueror, and the Thirty institute their program of proscription and despotism. Theramenes, leading the conservative element of the Thirty, incurs the violent enmity of Critias, the radical leader, and as a result is forced to drink the hemlock. Dr. Gaines gives a dramatic account of Theramenes' last appearance before the citizens and of his toast to Critias as he dashes the hemlock dregs to the ground.

As we turn from our consideration of the events that Dr. Gaines has so carefully recorded and consider the intimacy with which he has dealt with personalities, we find in the

¹ In this comedy Socrates was caricatured. It is an historical fact that the comedy failed to win the prize at this first appearance. Dr. Gaines offers an ingenious explanation of this failure. Socrates is made to arise in the audience while the slander is going on, and his presence calls forth a rising vote of approbation, thus ruining the effectiveness of the comedy.

pages of *Gorgo* no less than fifty characters who actually lived during the stirring days of the Peloponnesian War, many of whom were prominent in the public life of the day, and some of whom contributed in large measure toward exalting Athens to her commanding position in the history of the world. Although each one of these characters is given in the proper historical setting, in many cases opportunity is found to present them in rôles not recorded by the historians. In no case, however, does Dr. Gaines represent any character in an act not consistent with known historical facts.

In illustration one might mention many characters who occupy prominent places in the story. Critias and Thrasybulus are the boyhood playmates of Theramenes. The boy Critias is a bully when a mere lad, and his cold-hearted railing at the orphaned son of a Plataean martyr prepares us well for the cruelties which he practices later on as a member of the Thirty. In the boy Thrasybulus we find the elements of enthusiasm and fair play that contribute toward making him the stalwart rescuer of Athenian democracy from the bloody hands of the tyrants. The coarse Cleon practices his demagoguery upon the Athenian populace. Nicias strives cautiously to serve Athens and finally blunders his way to the annihilation of his army and to his own execution at Syracuse. Lysander comes before us as a young man of determination, and, as we associate with him here, we feel the compelling strength of the man who made Athens bow in subjection. The brilliant and handsome but erratic Alcibiades, the spoiled son of Athens, is presented in a most picturesque way. Indeed, as we read the brilliant account of Alcibiades in *Gorgo*, we feel that Dr. Gaines has exhibited skill not inferior to that of Plutarch.

Probably no historical character in the book engages our attention more than does Socrates, the greatest seeker after truth in antiquity. With rapt attention we walk along between the long walls with him and listen as he discourses upon the folly of taking human life, upon the vanity of material things, and upon the immortality of the soul. Again we meet him as he defies the Athenian assembly and his fellow judges in an effort to uphold the law, and we admire the grim courage of the man who later in life was not afraid to tell the judges who

held his life in their keeping that he would drink the hemlock rather than fawn upon them and purchase his life at the expense of his conscience. It is interesting to note that in his references to Socrates' *daimonion* Dr. Gaines has followed Xenophon² rather than Plato.³ He has represented Socrates as acting in the role of a prophet, advising his friends as to the prudence of their undertakings, foretelling future events, and being directed both positively and negatively by his monitor, "the voice." In this Socrates of Dr. Gaines we find an altogether pleasing character and one with whom we should like to associate.

In addition to the presentation of historical events and the depicting of historical characters there is another phase of the historical accuracy of *Gorgo* that is worthy of mention. The atmosphere of the book is thoroughly Hellenic. Although the composition of the book was more than two thousand years later than the occurrence of the events which it portrays, the author has entered into the spirit of the times in a way that is remarkable. By all the standards of comparison by which we can judge, Dr. Gaines has presented Greece as it actually was during the age of Pericles. We have here no fancied picture of times far removed, no product of the lively imagination of a writer more gifted than accurate, but a scholarly presentation of the spirit of a bygone age which far surpasses the work of others who have attempted to depict times much less removed.

III

Probably the chief purpose of Dr. Gaines in producing *Gorgo* was the vindication of Theramenes. It is a difficult task to explain away a reproach that has been cast upon the honor of anyone, and especially so if the name of that one has been, to use the words of Dr. Gaines, "blotted on the annals of time." Yet Dr. Gaines has presented to us in *Gorgo* a Theramenes who unquestionably deserves our approbation. It is, therefore, for us to consider whether or not Dr. Gaines has given and interpreted the historical facts fairly. If he has,

² *Mem.* I, 1, 4.

³ *Apol.* 31d.

then we may say in truth that he has justified the character of a greatly maligned man.

In examining the references made to Theramenes by the two contemporary historians, Thucydides and Xenophon, we find little reference to his character. Thucydides⁴ attributes his taking part in the overthrow of the Four Hundred to personal selfishness and a desire to save himself by being on the powerful side, but he makes no further reference to his character. With the single exception of complimenting his bearing in the presence of death, Xenophon⁵ passes no judgment whatever upon him. There are, however, contemporary comments which may throw some light upon the matter. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes we find the following passage:

"This is the part of a dexterous, clever
Man with his wits about him ever,
One who has travelled the world to see;
Always to shift, and to keep through all
Close to the sunny side of the wall;
Not like a pictured block to be,
Standing always in one position;
Nay, but to veer, with expedition,
And ever to catch the favouring breeze,
This is the part of a shrewd tactician,
This is to be a—Theramenes!"⁶

Another criticism, exceedingly scathing and bitter, may be found in the oration of Lysias against Eratosthenes. In this speech Lysias⁷ pictures Theramenes as a traitor willing to sacrifice his friends or even his city to further his personal ambitions, "a man ever discontented with his present situations, fond of revolutions, and who, under plausible pretenses, concealed the most villainous designs."⁸ On the other hand, we find Aristotle, who lived only two generations after Theramenes, representing him in an entirely different light:

⁴ VIII; 89-91.

⁵ *Hell.* II, 3, 56. It is interesting to note that Cicero also pays tribute to Theramenes' manner of meeting death (*Tusc. Disp.* I, 40, 96-97; 42, 100) and that in doing this he associates him on a common footing with Socrates. He also ranks Theramenes with Themistocles and Pericles as possessing two-fold excellence in acting and speaking (*De Orat.* III, 16, 59).

⁶ *Vas.* 533-541. (Rogers' translation.)

⁷ XII; 62-78.

⁸ *Ibid.* 78.

"The best statesmen at Athens, after those of early times, seem to have been Nicias, Thucydides, and Theramenes. . . . On the merits of Theramenes opinion is divided, because it so happened that in his time public affairs were in a very stormy state. But those who give their opinion deliberately find him, not, as his critics falsely assert, overthrowing every kind of constitution, but supporting every kind so long as it did not transgress the laws; thus showing that he was able, as every good citizen should be, to live under any form of constitution, while he refused to countenance illegality and was its constant enemy."

Thus we see that the opinion of ancient writers was divided. It remains, therefore, for us to view the acts of Theramenes as recorded by the historians, to discover whether or not Dr. Gaines has given them accurately, and in the light of the acts themselves and of the opinions given above to determine whether or not Dr. Gaines has interpreted these acts fairly.

As a prominent historical figure, Theramenes appeared five times upon the scene of action: (1) in the establishment of the rule of the Four Hundred; (2) in the overthrow of the rule of the Four Hundred and the establishment of the rule of the Five Thousand; (3) in the battle of Arginusae and the resulting trial and condemnation of the generals; (4) in the peace negotiations with Lysander; and (5) in the rule of the Thirty, of whom he was one and at the hands of whom he met his death. The first two of these are recorded by Thucydides†; the latter three by Xenophon‡. With the possible exception of the third incident mentioned, the accounts as given by Dr. Gaines are in absolute harmony with the accounts of the historians; on the Arginusae incident we shall comment later.

In considering the fairness of the interpretation placed by Dr. Gaines upon the acts of Theramenes, we should first consider the reasons why Theramenes has borne an unenviable reputation. These reasons seem to be two: a disposition on his part to make shifts between the different political parties in order that he might "keep . . . close to the sunny side of the wall," to be a turncoat or trimmer, the trait that secured for him the nickname "Cothurnus"*; and his apparently dishonor-

* *Constitution of Athens*. 28, 5. (Kenyon's translation.)

† (1) VIII, 68. (2) *Ibid.*, 89, 90, 91, 92, 94.

‡ (3) *Hell.* I, 6, 35; 7, 1-34. (4) *Ibid.*, II, 2, 16-21. (5) *Ibid.*, II, 3, 2-56.

* *Kothornos*, a buskin, worn by tragic actors that could be used on either foot. The name came to be applied to time servers. (*Xen. Hell.* II, 3, 31).

able conduct in participating in the condemnation of the generals after the battle of Arginusae. In answering the first of these charges Dr. Gaines has represented Theramenes as taking part in the establishment of the rule of the Four Hundred reluctantly and only on the condition that it was to be merely a stepping-stone toward the rule of the Five Thousand. This is entirely consistent with history and is a complete explanation of his willingness to overthrow the Four Hundred when they engaged in despotism and refused to create the body of Five Thousand. His willingness to submit to the terms of Lysander and become one of the oligarchical Thirty was caused by his desire to bring bread to a starving city and his knowledge that the terms of the conquerors must be accepted. His death was brought about by his unwillingness to participate in the needless bloodshed decreed by the Thirty over his protest, and by his desire to save Athens, in so far as he was able, from added horrors during a period of reconstruction. In none of these actions can we find any inconsistency, and certainly with such an authority as Aristotle behind him Dr. Gaines is justified in removing from Theramenes his name of reproach, "Cothurnus." This view is accepted by Bury¹⁰ and Beloch.¹¹ Moreover, the statements of Theramenes' defamers may be met with little difficulty when we consider the motives of those making them. Aristophanes took delight in caricaturing anyone who was prominent in Athens, and Lysias was personally interested in blackening the character of Theramenes. Certainly when one can find a deliberate fabrication¹² in the statements of Lysias concerning Theramenes, he is not inclined to give great weight to his testimony.

There remains only a consideration of the part that Theramenes played in the condemnation of the generals. In but one detail does Dr. Gaines vary from the account of Xenophon. Xenophon¹³ states that after the battle of Arginusae the gen-

¹⁰ Vol. II, Ch. 1, Sec. 10 med.

¹¹ *Griech. Geschichte* II, S. 72f.

¹² XII; 70. Lysias states that the Lacedaemonians did not demand the destruction of the walls, but that Theramenes brought this about—a statement directly contrary to history. (*Xen. Hell.* II, 2, 15-23.)

¹³ *Hell.* I, 6, 35.

erals detailed Theramenes and Thrasybulus with forty-seven triremes to make the rescue; Dr. Gaines states that Theramenes and Thrasybulus, without orders and without assistance, rescued as many as possible, returned to the camp, and there found the generals plotting to report to Athens that they had given them the orders. The only authority that Xenophon could have had for his statement was the word of the generals themselves. The veracity of the generals, therefore, must be weighed against the public verdict on Theramenes, for, if we can find good reasons to believe that there was nothing in this incident to cast a stain upon the honor of Theramenes, then may we say that Dr. Gaines was justified in interpreting as he did the incident which historians have generally regarded as being beyond solution, and in representing Theramenes as accusing the generals of lying about the orders. That there are good reasons for accepting this hypothesis, it is not difficult to show. Lysias, although it was to his advantage to paint the character of Theramenes as black as possible and to make every accusation against him that he could, never mentions the trial of the generals. Moreover, the Athenians soon repented¹⁴ of the condemnation of the generals (Dr. Gaines easily explains this as a psychological reaction to the technical illegality of the condemnation proceedings) and punished those responsible for it, yet they did not punish Theramenes and shortly afterward entrusted¹⁵ to him the making of the peace with Lysander. A third consideration is the fact that Aristotle in his *Constitution of Athens*, quoted above, makes no mention of the trial of the generals. It is true that such a matter would not necessarily be included in a work of this type, but Aristotle turns aside to eulogize Theramenes, a thing that he does in only one other instance¹⁶ in the whole treatise, and certainly, when he mentions in this eulogy the reasons why Theramenes was criticized, he would have referred to the Arginusae incident had it caused the attachment of any stigma to Theramenes' name. Nor can we believe that Aristotle would have selected as an object of his eulogy a man guilty of a heinous crime.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* I, 7, 34.

¹⁵ *Xen. Hell.* II, 2, 16-18.

¹⁶ Chap. 6. Eulogy of Solon.

Thus after a careful examination we find little reason to agree with Theramenes' defamers. We may, therefore, say that Dr. Gaines has been perfectly fair in interpreting the actions of Theramenes and has accomplished the wholly praiseworthy purpose of justifying his character.

IV

No estimate of the value of the setting of *Gorgo* could be properly made without paying a tribute to Dr. Gaines for the originality which he displays in the unique and startling prologue. It is a remarkable experience to have a lad in a modern New England college announce to us that he has trod the streets of old Athens resplendent in the glories of the dim distant past, that he has fought her battles, and that he has drunk her hemlock. No one but the dullest of readers could resist the charm of the book that at once takes possession of us as we first open its pages. But what of the historical background that serves as a basis for Dr. Gaines' work? Certainly there was never a more notable period of history in Greece than that of the Peloponnesian War. Athens in the time of Pericles was at the height of her glory, at the very pinnacle of her greatness in her achievements in art and literature, and at her supreme moment in producing great men. Then, during twenty-seven years of war she gave her utmost in man-power and in material resources. And, when the war clouds have parted, we find her broken and bleeding, a mere wreck of her former greatness. Surely no worthier period for fictional presentation could be found in history.

While Dr. Gaines had accurate historical accounts to follow in his construction of the plot, he showed ample evidence of his creative genius in his handling of the non-historical elements. Whether or not the historical characters actually played the parts that he assigned to them we do not know, but we do know that Dr. Gaines has given us a delightful story. He so handled his plot and so delineated the characters that they are made to live before us. We become one of them and feel as keen an interest in the incidents that develop as if we were actually experiencing them.

In his characterization of figures who are actually historical, Dr. Gaines exhibits great skill. We come into a closer personal contact with men whom we have met in the pages of Thucydides and Xenophon, and we find them here just as we found them there, but with enough amplification to bring their strength and their weakness, their prudence and their folly, into bolder relief.

Theramenes as a warrior appears in battles in which we can readily believe that a young Athenian of his age would have taken part. That he took as prominent a part as he is represented to have taken is probably somewhat beyond the facts, yet we find ourselves perfectly willing to allow latitude to Dr. Gaines in his development of the story. Let us now turn from Theramenes the warrior ("one who has strength in the chase") to Theramnas the lover ("one who wooes in the chase"),¹⁷ for it is by the name given to him by the maid of Sparta that we should know him in his role of lover. The young Athenian boy who dreams that the mighty Brasidas has offered to him his choice between a rose, bright with dew-drops, and a city full of people, the youth who tarries on an important military errand to answer the call of love, and the young man who turns aside from the cares of political life in a strife-torn city to claim his bride in the temple of Athena—in all these rôles Theramnas the lover impresses us as being thoroughly human, and what more can we ask of any character than that he be human?

With consummate skill Dr. Gaines has created characters and woven them into the plot. No more delightful character can be found in fiction than Gorgo, the daughter of Brasidas, the tender and affectionate Ionic daughter of cold, unbending, Doric Sparta. From the moment that we first meet her as she confesses with a charming *naïveté* her love for the Athenian boy, we remain under the spell of her lovable and faithful character. As we meet her from time to time, we feel that here again in far-off Hellas have we come into contact with that greatest achievement of creative intelligence—true womanhood.

¹⁷ I interpret "Theramnas," the creation of Dr. Gaines, to be *Thera-mnas* (*thera*, the chase + Doric *mnaster* a wooer).

Many of the non-historical characters might be mentioned as notable examples of Dr. Gaines' genius, but none more fittingly than the garrulous pilot, Meletus. His masterly handling of a storm-tossed trireme, his skill in conducting naval warfare, his valiant efforts to explain to an amazed senate the significance of the "allegorical" love letter, and the pathos of his account of leaving his comrades to perish in the sea make us regret the fact that he has no place in history. Here, indeed, is a character who deserves to live in literature.

* * *

What more need be said of *Gorgo*? It presents an intimate picture of life in Athens, that glorious city of old which led the way in so many fields; it gives us a stirring account of the tragic Peloponnesian War; it furnishes a splendid stimulus to the study of the history of ancient Greece; it justifies before the world the character of a man who for over two thousand years has suffered calumny; it gives us a personal introduction to Socrates, the greatest thinker that the ancient world produced, and a delightful association with him; and it brings to us again the old, old story of two hearts united in faithful love. In sum, it is a literary work the quality and value of which should insure its lasting as long as the English language is read. What better way can we close this estimate of *Gorgo* than by echoing the opinion of Lord Bryce that it is "one of the best historical novels ever written—perhaps the best"?

The Religion and History of the Jains

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Of the lesser religions of the world, there is probably none so little known to the average man and so worth his study as the religion of those inhabitants of India whom we call Jains. The reasons for this are four in number: (1) because Jainism is one of the lesser religions; (2) because it is identical with its sister and great religion, Hinduism, in many of its important points, thus giving it little cause for extraordinary note; (3) because its adherents form only a small part of the population of India; and (4) because Eastern religions at best are so widely different from our own that we are apt to regard them with a kind of uninterested and cynical toleration. But Jainism does not deserve the oblivious attitude with which it is commonly looked upon. It has been in the past, at least, a living and vital religion; and as such, if we recognize at all the value of metaphysical ideas, warrants our consideration. It shall be our plan, then, to review with some brevity the history of the Jains, in order that we may first know something of who they are before we examine their beliefs and tenets.

With the history of the Jains we are not so well acquainted as with their religion, for they are a people much more concerned with what we have termed metaphysical thought than with the writing of history. To be sure, they furnish us a sort of chronology of their past, but inasmuch as it deals with their sect alone, we are unable to correlate it with any of the great events in the world's early history as we know it. According to the Jains, however, theirs is the oldest religion in India, and certain extracts from the Vedas tend to prove that it is surely older than Buddhism, and perhaps than Brahmanism. This last is very open to question, and most scholars now agree that Jainism arose at the end of the sixth century, B. C., when its great founder, Mahavira, began to spread abroad his teachings. The early history of Jainism is practically coincident with the life of Mahavira, and it will therefore be our task to sketch his life, and to show his influence upon later Jainism.

According to the Jaina scriptures, Mahavira had twenty-three sainted predecessors, known as Tirthankara, he himself being the twenty-fourth. The significant fact about his birth is that he was born of a Ksatriyan mother rather than of a Brahman, thus showing the antipathy of the Jains towards the Brahman caste as superior to the warrior. In fact their hatred of the priestly caste was so great that in the Jain sacred books we find the story that a Brahman woman was fated to be the mother of Mahavira, but the god Indra, upon learning the fact, sent his commander-in-chief down in the disguise of a deer to remove the embryo from the Brahman and to give it to Trisala, the wife of a Ksatriyan. So, therefore, Trisala dreamed, one night, the fourteen auspicious dreams which always appear to a woman who is about to become the mother of a Tirthankara. As the dreams prophesied, so it proved to be, and Trisala's son, born about 599 B. C., was a very model of human excellence, according to Jaina standards. When about thirty years of age he became an ascetic, and to show his particular steadfastness of faith, tore his hair out by the roots, instead of shaving it off as was the custom. It is said that as Mahavira performed this crowning act of austerity, Indra, the king of the gods, caught up the hairs in a diamond cup and took them off to the celestial Ocean of Milk. After this Mahavira spent his life in rigid asceticism, wandering from place to place, preaching and setting down rules of conduct, and converting men to his creed. His first convert, Gosala, was not true to Jain principles, and his conduct showed the need for stringent rules for the monastic order. Gautama Indrabhuti was a more successful convert, but was hindered from attaining perfection by reason of his great affection for Mahavira, and according to the Jaina scriptures affection is one of the things to be stifled in attaining perfect bliss.

The provinces of Mewar and Mawar in Rajputana were the cradle of the Jain system, and it is also known that members of the sect are also found in Bengal. Some two centuries after Mahavira's death, the monsoons, upon which depend the fertility of that region, failed for twelve consecutive years, with the result that a famine set in with all its entailed suffer-

ing. The Jains were therefore forced to move to the productive regions of the south, and accordingly some half of the community migrated and settled in Mysore. This is an important event, for it marks the establishment of Jainism in the Deccan, and still farther south in the peninsula of India. In the meanwhile, a council of monks was called at Patna, which was then the capital of the Mauriyan empire, to fix the canon of the Jaina sacred literature. That the work of this council was not conclusive, the schism of which we must speak in a moment, will show.

At the end of the famine, and after many of the immigrants to the south had returned to their "Holy Land," the decisive event in Jain history took place. This was the division of the sect into two groups, the Cvetambaras and the Digambaras. The dispute arose over the doctrine that love of possessions is a source of detriment to the soul, and that we must cut ourselves free from all our worldly treasures in order to attain bliss. The Digambaras, (i.e. "atmosphere-clad, nude") carried this doctrine to its logical conclusion and claimed that fully to accomplish the separation from temporal possessions, we must deprive ourselves of everything, even clothing, and spend our days in a state of nakedness. It is obvious that such an idea was possible of practice—for it was practiced—only in a country with a climate like India's, for we can scarcely imagine a sect of Digambaras growing up in Scandinavian or Canadian territory. The Cvetambaras, (i.e. "white-clad") however, protested against this on the equally logical grounds of modesty, and the two sects divided on this all-important question, and, indeed, on many others; so that a great schism was unavoidable. In the meantime, the Jaini scriptures were in a thoroughly unsatisfactory state and in great danger of being lost, inasmuch as they were partly set down in writing but mostly carried in the heads of the Jain monks, and repeated much as were the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Also missionary effort on the part of the Jains was converting many of the western kings, and the center of population of the sect was gradually swinging westward. Therefore, when it became imperative to have a new canon of the sacred literature made, the place chosen for

the conclave of monks was Vallabhi, in western India. The work of this council was not wholly decisive, either, for the eleven sub-sects under the Sthanakavasi, for instance, and the eighty-four under the Cvetambaras all have differing notions of the parts of the canon set by the conference of Vallabhi. It is the pride of the Jains that their scriptures are not written in Sanscrit, "the language of the learned," but in the speech of the common people. In the case of the Cvetambara, however, this seems a useless boast, since laymen, however prominent, are forbidden to read them.

The period from the council of Vallabhi, (454 A. D.) down to the thirteenth century seems, so far, to have been the zenith of Jain prosperity. I say "so far," because we have extremely few written records of that time. It is known, however, that the Jains then enjoyed the favor of all the important monarchs of India, and the pride which they evince in that epoch makes us sure that for them it was a great one, surpassing even that when Asoka made Jainism the state religion before his conversion to Buddhism. The fact, also, should be remarked that the period which saw the Jaina basking in the sunshine of royal favor throughout India, saw also the decline and fall of Buddhism in that country. The Jains felt a human satisfaction in the downfall of a great religious group which they looked upon as having sprung from themselves and then turned against them. But even as Caesar with all the world lying conquered at his feet little thought of an impending assassination, so the Jains, triumphant over an ancient foe, gave little heed to their future prosperity.

The result was that once the Mohammedan hordes swept into India, Jainism was broken, never again to regain its former lustre. The marvel of it all is that under the driving flood of Mohammedan conquest, Jainism was not wholly swept away. Had it not been for the close relation between Jainism and Hinduism as regards their priesthood and theogeny, such a catastrophe would surely have occurred. But as it happened, the Brahman system, against which the Jains had revolted, saved its own foe; and the rains of foreign conquest descended, and the floods of hostile triumph came, but Jainism fell not wholly, for it was founded upon a rock.

Modern Jainism is, like everything else in India, undergoing the changes which the recent industrial revolution has brought about, and is feeling the impress of western ideas upon its life. Now the Jaina youth are becoming the important social unit, and efforts, stronger than before, are made to instruct them more thoroughly in the tenets of their religion. There are now Jaina newspapers and pamphlets, Jaina schools and institutions of higher learning. Each of the many sects of Jainism has its own annual conference, its own "Ladies Day," and even its own Y. M. J. A.—Young Men's Jain Association. All these innovations, constructive as they are, cannot yet return Jainism to its ancient pinnacle of supremacy, for the predominance of the great religious triad, Hinduism, Buddhism, and Mohammedanism, precludes any possibility of such a restoration. Yet they do make the pulses of the old religion beat with a new fire; and they assure us that, though the former greatness of Jainism be gone, and though its adherents form but a small percentage of the population of India, nevertheless it is a religion vibrant with the moral realities of life, and as such deserves our recognition.

The goal of religion is happiness. All the world's varied sects and creeds owe their existence to the illimitable desire of their adherents to reach some perfect state from which trouble and toil shall be excluded; and they arise as offering the surest means to this end. But happiness, like all mental states, is purely relative. It varies in accordance with human intelligence and with human conception of it; so that what is considered happiness in one part of the world is very likely to find its antithesis in another part. The fundamental point then for us to grasp upon entering into a study of a given religion is that to understand it properly we must first discover what the believers in that religion conceive supreme happiness to be. For instance, given but the fact that in the Christian doctrine the highest possible bliss is considered as the fellowship of the soul with its Creator throughout eternity, we can at once deduce that Christianity comprises the belief in a one and all-powerful God, and belief in the immortality of the soul. Thus if we are

to study Jainism properly, we must examine first of all the Jain conception of happiness for which the members of that sect strive.

"The dread of India is re-incarnation," and therefore her one desire is to be freed from the unending cycle of rebirths. A man, after death, may be reborn into any species of thing, from an evil spirit in hell or an animal, up to a saint who has attained Moksa, the Jain Heaven. The form that his soul takes on in rebirth is dependent upon the amount of *karma* he has collected during his life. The word *karma* is practically untranslatable, but we can explain it by the use of a periphrasis and example. *Karma* means a man's actions, or more properly the *accumulated result* of action; that is, in whatever a man does, he accumulates good or evil *karma*. If, for instance, he grants food and shelter to an ascetic he gains in good *karma*, but if he destroys life in any of its forms—plant, animal, or human—or loses his temper and curses anyone, he accumulates a mass of *karma* that is likely to bring him to a rebirth in hell, or as a lowly plant or insect. It might be supposed from this that the Jains would expend their energies in accumulating as large a mass of good *karma* as possible, but their knowledge of human frailty does not permit them to go so far. Realizing that man is too prone to evil to acquire enough good *karma* to overbalance the bad, they set up as their ideal the doctrine that man is to attain perfect happiness by accumulating no *karma* at all! And since, as we have stated, the dread of India is reincarnation, the Jaina conception of supreme happiness must necessarily picture it as the state in which the soul lives on and on in calm repose and without fear of rebirth into some lower organism, because the soul that has attained it has learned to stifle desire, which is the inevitable acquirer of *karma*. Such is the Jain Moksa. As regards its conception of happiness, and its means to attain that end, Jainism differs widely from any religion that we of the western world have ever known, but it is not impossible of producing much good, and should not therefore be condemned. Dryden has said,

"Religion, if in heavenly truth attired,
Needs only to be seen to be admired."

And this essay will have accomplished little indeed if at its close the reader is not convinced that Jainism embodies many unchanging truths, and is to a great extent admirable and worthy of emulation.

Two great ideas form the foundation of the whole structure of the Jain faith. The first is the matter of *karma*, which we have just defined; and the second is the peculiar doctrine that the destruction of any form of life, be it plant, animal, or human, is the most heinous of mortal crimes. Five of the nine categories of Jain fundamental truths are devoted to a discussion of the former idea, and it is well for us, therefore, to expend some time in a review of that matter.

The Jains tell us first of all about the ways in which *karma* may be acquired, and a Jaina proverb says that "just as water flows into a boat through a hole in it, so *karma* flows into the soul and impedes its progress." *Karma* enters most easily through the five senses, and the careful Jain must be ever watchful over them. Otherwise, for example, he may listen to the pleasant strains of music and be so enraptured by their beauty as to forget all duty and be lost to all progress. Or again, through the deceit of the eye, he may become enmeshed in the wiles of some charming damsel, and thus be lost to all good, while evil *karma* flows into his soul. Similarly, delight in pleasant odors and in delicacies of pleasant taste may render him oblivious to the things that most concern his soul's welfare. The logical, and indeed in some cases the real, outcome of this doctrine is asceticism, and asceticism is practiced among the Jains in much the same fashion as it was among the monks of the Middle Ages. You will find the same repression of bodily desires, the same austere infliction of bodily suffering, and the same system of beggary among the Jains of today that was rampant among the monastic orders of medieval times. But the young Jain is not in sympathy with this arrangement of affairs as his fathers have been. He has been the first of his people to feel the impress of Western ideas upon his own civilization and he has come to doubt whether there be, after all, so much snare in a woman's smile, or so much evil in the innocent harmonies of music.

There are other ways in which karma may enter the soul, and most important among them is through not having control over what the Jains term the four major emotions: anger, deceit, conceit, and avarice. We come upon much firmer ethical ground when we reach this idea, for we are met with a doctrine which is neither foreign to us nor outgrown, but one which has been thundered into our ears ever since we were first capable of grasping even in the least its significance. In short, it amounts to the doctrine of self-control. It is stating a truism to mention the evil effects of anger, or deceit, or pride, or avarice, but it is interesting to note that the Jains carry the idea beyond this stage. They say that these four evil emotions should be controlled on the principle of cultivating their respective virtues. Thus, the angry man must exercise forgiveness, the conceited man humility; the deceitful, frankness; and the avaricious, generosity; but *how* to do this the Jains do not attempt to demonstrate.

The third channel through which *karma* may enter the soul reveals the care with which the Jains avoid, in their code of ethics, over-preoccupation with material things. Those who have become too wrapped up—in body, speech, or mind—in worldly affairs, are considered to have opened their souls wide to the inflow of destructive *karma*. Such people, instead of meditating upon the lives of great men who have gone before and considering how best they may emulate them, think only how they may gain perhaps by the death of some rich relative, and devote all their bodily energies to the acquisition of wealth and social reputation. It is strange to us that the eastern world should have preceded the western in recognizing this doctrine as a moral truth—and rather a blow to our pride—but such is the case. Even before Socrates smote with ominous blows of destiny upon the false ideas of society among the Greeks, and for the first time in their history begged the Athenian youth not to pursue glory and honor and wealth, but to see first to the welfare of their souls, the East had realized this as an ethical fact. And for this reason, if for no other, we owe Jainism our admiration for being among the pioneers in a new realm of thought.

There now remain two sides of the doctrine of *karma* to be discussed. First, the way in which the accumulation of *karma* may be avoided; and second, how *karma* may be destroyed after it has been acquired. Correct outward behavior constitutes one of the most important ways to avoid the inflow of *karma*; circumspection must always be kept over the words of one's mouth, and over matters pertaining to eating, as, for instance, the prohibition of intoxicants to the members of the Jain sect. The Jains of the old school are so meticulous in this regard that they will not, when sick, use European medicines for fear that they contain alcohol. Equal in importance to the regulations for conduct are those that govern the controlling of the mind, speech, and body. To control the mind properly one must never give way to wanton expression of emotion, neither must one have partiality for the rich over the poor, or for the great over the small, but one's life must be spent in doing kindnesses to all and in obeying the tenets of religion. Last of all, *karma* may be stopped by constant meditation upon the twelve great reflections, whose essence is that in this world where the cycle of rebirth is endless and where everything is transient, we must guard against the accumulation of *karma*, remembering that all things are easy to acquire save the Three Jewels: Right Faith, Right Knowledge, and Right Conduct, all of which are necessary to the true faith. The Jaina say that "he whose soul is purified by meditating on those reflections is compared to a ship in water; like a ship reaching the shore it gets beyond misery."

There are also actions which tend towards the accumulation of good *karma* to counterbalance the bad, and in the category of these actions we find that part of the Jain religion which most nearly touches our own. The Jaina have a very subtle sense of what constitutes merit, and they tell us that there are in general six ways in which we can acquire good *karma*. First, we can give food to the hungry who are worthy of our help; or we may give water to the thirsty, and clothes to the poor, and we enrich ourselves by doing so. But most of all we gain in good *karma* by avoiding hurting anyone's feelings, by thinking well of everyone, and by exerting ourselves

to serve others. We cannot but mark, I think, the high ethical tone of these rules for good conduct. They seem to us not eastern and oriental, but vital and salient principles upon which we strive to base our living; and in the incense which rises in Jain temples to strange and foreign gods, we catch the perfume of that idealism which we try to make our own. For the truth is that great and lasting moral concepts are not the products of time or place, but the products of that intangible being which is the inner life of man.

The Jaina divide the ways by which accumulated *karma* may be destroyed into interior and exterior austerities, which they, especially the monks, practice with some regularity. The aim of the interior austerities is to fix the attention of the soul upon higher things, and there are six rules to observe in order to reach this aim. The Jain must exercise confession of and penance for his sins, must be reverent at all times towards religious men and affairs, must render all the service in his power to the wandering monks he may chance to meet, must study faithfully religious doctrines, must meditate upon them, and must have absolute indifference to the body and its needs. The exterior austerities are self-imposed sufferings based upon a system of fasting. Complete fasting until death results procures the removal of all *karma* one may have acquired, partial fasting and abstinence from foods which particularly delight the taste will remove part. Stoical endurance of bodily pain and the avoidance of temptation by complete bodily control will also aid in the destruction of *karma*. The last two ideas are ethically sound; but as regards the matter of complete and partial fasting, one wonders that a religion which will not tolerate the killing of even the lowest form of insect life, should virtually advocate human suicide.

It will easily be seen from the character of the fundamental truths that Jainism is an ethical code, rather than a religious system, such as is Christianity; and yet it seems strange that with all its ethical significance it does not reach the high moral level of our faith. The reason for this is fairly obvious when one comes to a comparison of the two religions. In Jainism one finds no supreme God, no one Being under whose tender care the works of man prosper. The Hindu trinity is austere,

and unreal to the Jains; they have tried to stifle the natural impulses of their hearts by severing themselves from human affections and it is needless to say that their religion does not therefore wholly satisfy them. Where there is no god, there can be no forgiveness, and where there is no forgiveness there can be no peace of the soul. In this respect, Christianity has a great appeal to the Jain mind. The Jain has a subtle feeling for some unknown God whom he cannot make tangible to his mind. He is bitterly opposed to the caste system, but because the absence of an Almighty Father makes impossible a brotherhood of man, he is bound to that system with the fetters which all India has been unable to shake off in the past centuries. One thing, however, makes the Jain a certain opponent of Christianity, and that is that it allows the killing of animals or plants, which his code will not tolerate. It is useless to show the absurdity of this idea; one would have to cease breathing or moving lest one extinguish the life of some microscopic being and thus break the Jain law. But if we can some day convince the Jains of their folly in this regard, they will embrace our faith with ready hearts; for it must be said for them that they have a quick and ready sympathy with idealism, and become deeply interested in anything which affects the higher life of man.

As an ethical and metaphysical code, Jainism is tremendous in its scope; but as a religion, it has an empty heart. The element of love, so striking in our own creed, is totally removed by the Jains in their efforts to eliminate desire. Jainism is not a creed calculated to inspire the common run of humanity with a thirst after the higher things of life, but it is a noble one, and when we step aside and for the moment view it from a distance, it becomes to us that vivid picture which Goldsmith paints:

"As some tall cliff that lifts its awful form
Swells from the vale and midway leaves the storm;
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head."

The Diminutive Drama

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Two new books about the one-act play confirm the conviction that it is not easy, perhaps not possible, to say anything about this form of dramatic literature which, so far as essentials of drama are concerned, can not also be said about the drama of the more full-length. It is undoubtedly true that through all the days since those of Euripides, in whose time interest in novelty for its own sake first entered into the making of drama, the favor-seeking dramatist has been compelled to enter into his closet, shut the door, and pray fervently to such gods as he may acknowledge, even if only the gods named Fantasy and Artifice, that he may be granted the favor of being unusually interesting. The dramatist of our day has been favored of Fortune in having one form of answer to his petition ready-made in the guise of the one-act play. Its novelty, for it is still a relatively new conscious form of drama, has attracted many readers who, if the novelty of it had been absent, no doubt would have passed it by as too insignificant for attention. Then, too, it does fit the pages of the magazine, as the longer play does not; hence its repeated bows in the literary world.

We need not dwell upon the fact that the Greeks, the mediaeval church playwrights, the Spaniards, and some of the Elizabethans knew and cared nothing about acts, nor upon the consequent fact that their plays look like modern "one-acters." But there were still other "dialogues divine" in days older than ours and intended to be read only, some of them sung, many of which, without even the use of drag-net, might well be included in the *Lyria Elegantarium*, it is true, but it is dramatic dialogue, in it are situation, personality, action. Of course, dialogue alone, with the minimum of action, does not make the best drama. If it did, the dialogues of Plato would be the greatest of all dramas. Perhaps they are. But this is Robert Herrick's

A DIALOGUE BETWEEN HIMSELF AND MISTRESS ELIZA WHEELER
UNDER THE NAME OF AMARILLIS

(H.) My dearest love, since thou wilt go,
And leave me here behind thee;
For love or pity, let me know
The place where I may find thee.

(A.) In country meadows, pearl'd with dew,
And set about with lilies;
There, filling mounds with cowslips, you
May find your Amarillis.

(H.) What have the meads to do with thee,
Or with thy youthful hours?
Live thou at Court, where thou may'st be
The queen of men—not flowers.

Let country wenches make 'em fine
With posies, since 'tis fitter
For thee with richest gems to shine,
And like the stars to glitter.

(A.) You set too high a rate upon
A shepherdess so homely.

(H.) Believe it, dearest, there's not one
I' th' Court that's half so comely.

I prithee stay. (A.) I must away;

(H.) Let's kiss first, then we'll sever;

(Ambo.) And tho' we bid adieu to-day,
We shall not part forever.

Are not Fate, and Chance, and Change, involved here as in the dramas of the great Greek tragedians? And there is all the unity of one act. Yet with all the eternities pending for the two in this bit of art, it is entertainment only, while the real one-act play as written by Yeats, Lavedan, Sudermann, Strindberg, von Hofmannsthal, Sharp, Maeterlinck, Synge, and Eugene O'Neill insists upon being a social document. The controlled emotion, varied thought, and poetic power displayed in their plays make those plays art. But no one of them appears to have found it possible to delve deeply into the recesses of the individual soul excepting as that soul has been

profoundly influenced by its social relations. The fact is that the play which entertains most, rarely fails in discussions, after the play is done, to arouse sober reflection in the most confirmed seeker of pleasure from the stage. The dramatic effect of Lord Dunsany's *Gods of the Mountain*, Maeterlinck's *The Blind*, and J. M. Synge's *Riders to the Sea* places them far up the slopes of the sacred mount of poetry, the very language of them being action,—so dynamic is their force, with little style superior in our time, and yet they compel their reader to contemplation of human life.

The one-act play is not a dramatized short-story; it is not a compressed longer drama; it is not the end of an implied longer play; it is not, as Mr. William Archer has called it, a "mere piece of dialogue."

Mr. Archibald Henderson in his book, "European Dramatists," says of *The Blind*, *The Intruder*, *The Interior*, and *The Seven Princesses* that they are dramatized short-stories. Poe may have been Maeterlinck's master in the writing of these little dramas. They do have the "Poe power and inevitableness," and the Poe subject matter. They are occult "studies in hallucination, striking, fascinating, almost awe-compelling,"—always excepting *The Seven Princesses*. They do even have the cumulative intensity of Poe's brief stories *Silence* and *Shadow*, which, it might be admitted, are most truly Poesque. But Maeterlinck's one-act plays are not dramatized short-stories, if the short-story is what Poe conceived it to be and made it to be. They have no plot. A brief story without a plot may be a very good story, conceivably much better than any brief story with plot, but without plot it does not belong to that type of fiction to which Poe contributed, any more than Meredith's sixteen line lyric poems are true sonnets, great lyrics as they may be. They lack the form, and hence lack some distinctive effectiveness which the peculiar form alone can achieve.

Mr. George Middleton has spoken of his own plays as "studies in consequences and readjustments" . . . each a further expression of some preceding situation." "Each play is," he says, "the epitome of a larger drama, which is suggested in the

background." But is this true? And if it is true of his plays, does it carry over into application to the one-act play as a type of dramatic form and purpose? Would the charm of Mrs. Havelock Ellis's *The Subjection of Kezia* continue to be charm if the play were prolonged into two acts? Mr. Maurice Baring's *The Greek Vase* and Mr. Yeats's *The King's Threshold* overflow with the life of art, but not because their authors failed to write a second and third act to contain the overflow. Agreement is universal that Synge's *Riders to the Sea* is the most poignant of all one-act plays, but four acts of it would be intolerable. Past, present, and to come are suggested or explicit in Mr. Phillpotts's *Point of View*, but there is enough of it within the confines of the one-act form. None would endure more within the play than there is in Hofmannsthal's *Madonna Dianora*, Maeterlinck's *The Blind*, or Strindberg's *The Creditors*. The one-act play is a condensed, pithy, compressed form of dramatic literature, but it is not a compression of the subject matter for a longer play. It might be admitted that two, three, four, five, or six act plays are variations of one dramatic form, but the one-act play is distinctive. It can do something which a drama of more than one act does not seem capable of doing; at least it can present what cannot be presented in the longer form and still secure the author's intended effect. The one great infallible clue to science is purpose; it is no less the clue to the basis of sound judgment in literature. The purpose of the author when he writes a one-act play is a different purpose from that of the author when he writes a longer play; and the corresponding effect is also different.

It has been suggested by more than one critic that the one-act play is so much crisis-like in its subject matter, so nearly a climax in its sharpness and convincing effect, that it may be described as the end of a larger play, the end of a "tumultuous and plangent story," the dramatization of the close of a drama most of which has preceded it in preceding life which this climax does not depict but implies. Such description does not say that the one-act play is a miniature form of the Ibsen type of play, because no assertion is made that the briefer

form dramatizes the past along with the dramatization of the present. It is obvious enough that Sir James Barrie's *Twelve Pound Look*, Lord Dunsany's *A Night at an Inn*, and Sudermann's *Fritzchen* imply history back of the human situation dramatized in each play. But there is no more reason for thinking of them as ends of longer stories than there is of thinking of them as beginnings of longer stories which might be written of things to follow in logical sequence upon the events in the plays themselves. *Fritzchen*, in the translation I own, ends with a printer's dash, indicating that the end is not yet. We wish strongly enough that the plays in Mr. Gibson's *Daily Bread* were "ends" to the action, the situations, the characters; but they are not. Time would fail to list the one-act plays which might better be characterized as beginnings of tragic events to come than as ends of longer plays which might have been but were not written by their authors. It is amazing how much of individualization of character, that resultant of the strength of a person with environment, has been presented in the one-act play, this end *and* beginning of life histories,—the struggle of a person with environment, has been presented the coincidental, yet logical, the hap-hazard, yet inevitable, falling together of the trailing ends of circumstances which make known as human life.

If we take Mr. Archer's defining formula of the one-act play seriously, and make our own definition of its terms, without the mental attitude which inspired his formula, that it is "a mere piece of dialogue," we may entirely agree with him. But the one-act play is a mere piece of dialogue in a sense which his words do not at all convey. To Mr. Archer the word "mere" evidently means "only," or "bare,"—the one-act play is to him "only" a piece of dialogue; this is the sense the word "mere" has inherited from its Latin ancestor. Taking the word in its Middle-English, Old-English, Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, Middle-High German, Old-High German, Icelandic, Gothic meaning, we find in those tongues that it means, for one thing, "famous"; the meaning of the word in those tongues is associated with both the Latin and Sanscrit words which mean "something memorable," something

famous, not merely something bare. Yes, the one-act play in its best example is something memorable, a mere, that is to say a famous, piece of dialogue. And, then, if the most distinguished of all living English dramatic critics means something invidious by the word "piece" as well as by the word "mere" in his phrase "a mere piece of dialogue," why, we may reply that that is all the two or three or four or five or six act (Rostand's *L'Aiglon* is in six acts) play is,—a piece, or part, only of all the dialogue which did or even could get itself spoken, supposing the play to have been the history of fact instead of a record of imaginative reality. Does all that was actually said, assuming fact again and not "sense of fact," get itself said in a Japanese fifteen act play? Despite the claims made for real speech, one was right who said that "literary dialogue such as is in the printed drama runs so smoothly as it does because it has had eliminated from it the superfluous detail found in common speech." A play would not be recognizably true to life if it contained speech as it actually is uttered in life. A one-act play is a "mere piece of dialogue," a famous, memorable bit of imaginative reality, telling incisively the center and soul of the climax of a story, as in Phillpotts's *The Carrier-Pigeon*, or in Lady Gregory's *The Workhouse Ward*, or in Quintero's *A Bright Morning*, or in Masefield's *The Sweeps of Ninety-Eight*, or in Hofmannsthal's *Elektra*, plays written by poets and artists, good dramatic craftsmen, artists with clean, sane minds, and with most ingenious skill controlled by an unfailing instinct for dramatic effect. There may not be more than four-score and ten plays so brief as these which can stand all the tests of external plausibility and internal consistency that the academic critic will apply to drama, not more than that number which are models of construction and triumphs of characterization—the twin essentials of drama. But there are a few of the most noteworthy bits of literature in our time in this form, plays deeply sincere and luminous, convincing and clear, plays which portray in each instance a brief but tense portion of life passing through a critical moment, and with touch little short of magic, convey interpretation of that critical moment in terms of universal understanding.

To gain the dramatic effect desired, the short play, just as the long, interests itself in presenting a situation, narrating an event, delineating character, conveying an idea, or illustrating some general attitude to life. A popular one-act play of the early days of the Great War, Marion Craig Wentworth's *War-Brides*, availed itself of all these means, more or less,—pictured a situation, told a story, delineated character, conveyed to the reader a specific idea, and suggested at least the author's general philosophy of life at the time of writing the play. It is rather difficult to say whether some of Sir James Barrie's plays are dramas at all, or whether, dropping the parenthetical marks and reducing the "stage directions" from italics to roman type, they are not novelettes; but granting that *The Twelve Pound Look* is unmistakably a drama, yet the most casual reader finds that little of story is told, but a definite idea concerning domestic relations and a vivid picturing of character are transferred by this drama to the reader. Strindberg's *Pariah* lacks action, tells no story, characterizes no one person, but presents a struggle between ideas in the minds of two men, the universal bearing of which is obvious enough. M. Maeterlinck's *The Interior*, the best illustration of his "static" drama, contains no action and no definiteness of character, but is profoundly suggestive of thought, "a philosophical reflection in pictured words as vividly critical in its impression as if a situation had been caught by a painter and fixed with brush upon sensitized canvas."

The one-act play because of the foreshortening necessary in such tense concentration as the form requires is seldom found to show development of character, perhaps never at all, excepting in the sense in which the photographer speaks of developing a negative. As the negative is plunged into the chemical solution and the picture is brought out quickly, so the character tried in the fire of a poignant situation is shown to be what it really inwardly has been or has suddenly become. Yet how much can be put into the limits of this short type of play! Pride, place, power, wealth, woman, man, the absurdity of the social order, almost "the world to-day," are in *The Twelve-Pound Look*.

Strindberg, who inaugurated the vogue of the one-act play as a conscious type of dramatic form, as surely as Poe inaugurated the short-story as a conscious form, hoped that audiences would ultimately be willing to sit through an entire evening of one-act, one-scene. Not even Shaw's *Getting Married* has been accorded that undivided attention; the managers have divided it by the curtain. Yet the condensation practiced by the better writers of the "little plays" is often so great that the attention is exhausted in the brief time needed for the presentation on is exhausted in the brief time needed for the presentation of the play on stage. To the fullest degree of intensity Yeats in word as God in man over against any possible capitulation to the law of physical self-preservation, making it evident in what would have been many numbered scenes in the classic French plays, that the poet, as poet and not as man, will die any death rather than take seat which permits to sit between him and the King any soldier, bishop, civic official, friend, pupil, relative, or even sweetheart. In *The Green Cockatoo*, Arthur Schnitzler precipitates as into an imperishable crystal the spirit of what until the Great War had been the mightiest catyclysm in the upmoving of democracy the world has ever known, the French Revolution. It is a little play, and *The Green Cockatoo* is the name of only a little inn, but it is an inn in the center of fermenting, fervent Paris in the year 1789.

The one-act play may contain something so dompting, grim, and squalid that we want not to pity nor to suffer for or with its characters, but want rather, because our hearts are shocked and our intellects benumbed with contemplating their tragic sufferings, to wipe out of the pages of literature, and of life, such characters as are in Wilfrid Gibson's *Daily Bread*. The one-act play, in its "mere dialogue," may present in ample fullness the hitherto unpublished side of the ambiguous life of a great man and the story of all that is involved with that life in almost innumerable suggested directions and tendencies, and this is done by Eden Phillpotts in *The Hiatus*. The one-act play as Barrie's *Rosalind* is comparable with a Greek tragedy, ing universal truth through the expression of individual experience, a satire upon the romanticism which keeps the human

race together and alive, a story of the hour, and yet at bottom a plea for loftier, more transcendent views of man and his life. All this is done in one bit of playlet, Lord Dunsany's *The Lost Silk Hat*, a little master-piece of art. The most varied, and, by suggestion, the richest of material may be employed by the one-act playwright, all the way, let us say, from the light and delicate irony to be found in Marguerite Merington's "Picture Plays" to the subtle psychology in William Sharp's "Vistas."

It is by no means division into parts or lack of division which distinguishes the one-act play from the longer form. Many one-act plays are printed and acted with definitely indicated divisions. In Sudermann's volume of plays entitled "Morituri" there are three one-act plays, *Teja*, *Fritzschen*, and *The Eternal Masculine*, which are divided into numbered scenes, the third with ten scenes, the second with eleven, and the first with fifteen scenes, all very brief, of course. In these plays, however, strict unity is adhered to, all the scenes in *The Eternal Masculine*, for example, being in one studio, and in *Fritzschen* all in one room of one house. Hartley Manners in *God of My Faith* writes the one act with but one scene, yet makes a division, which is indicated by the stage direction, "The curtain falls, and rises again in a few moments. Several days have elapsed." Clearly, there are two scenes. The playwright is quite correct who maintains that the one-act play, with extraordinary ingenuity, yet with perfect naturalness, may compress an interesting story into a briefer form than can be done by any other method of story-telling. Here as in no other brief form is that thoughtful, rational adjustment of means to ends which, as Mr. Archer puts it relative to the longer form, awakens "a certain order of emotions which cannot be aroused in an equal degree by any other means."

Strindberg began writing this monographic form of dramatic literature as early as 1872, in *The Outlaw*, though, as he himself said, with but scant success. "The form," he said, "seems to be my own, and changing aesthetic conditions may possibly make it timely." There can be no doubt about the timeliness today, not alone because the one-act play entertains

but also because it contains for us what we so passionately seek in contemporary literature, namely, naturalness of scene, the environment of life, creative genius for people and for tense significant situations in life, and not least of all, spontaneous, pointed, significant dialogue. We are not saying that such a play as Barrie's *Rosalind* is comparative with a Greek tragedy, but that it does awaken in audience and readers "those emotions of growing interest, suspense, anticipation, sudden and vivid realization, which it is the peculiar privilege of drama to produce." Nor is it intellectually negligible, for it gives the audience something that "does not merely while away an idle hour for them, but becomes a part of their experience, stimulating their intelligence, deepening their insight, and enlarging their sympathies." This little play is destined to be famous for its action, delicate, suspended yet sustained, a play into which its author has precipitated satirical sidelights upon drama itself, upon acting, upon Shakespeare even, upon Sir James Matthew Barrie, upon romantic-minded youth, upon comfort-seeking middle age, and upon illusions generally. How much do we ask of drama, anyway?

The accomplished actor, Mr. George Arliss, has been quoted to the effect that the briefer plays do not permit of the finer effects, because they do not give time enough, that more leisure than they allow is required to establish an atmosphere. Well, it does seem that Lady Gregory has established atmosphere a-plenty in *The Workhouse Ward* and in *Spreading the News*, and Masefield in his Irish play, *The Sweeps of Ninety-Eight* and, above all, in his Icelandic play, *The Locked Chest*. To create atmosphere, as to create situation (without atmosphere situation does not exist), is the function of the one-act play. Does the budding playwright think this an easy thing to do? Mr. Percy Mackaye in the preface to his "Yankee Fantasies" wrote, "Ten one-act plays might be written in the time required for the same writer to create one long play." They might, but that is because to write and to create may not mean the same thing, unless Mr. Mackaye is speaking for himself alone. There is something lyrical about the one-act play; it may well be termed a sort of dramatic lyric in prose. It was not inaptly

that Mr. Mackaye described *The Cat-Boat* as "A Fantasy for Music." The modern stage is seeking for atmosphere, and it readily accepts atmosphere when it can find it. The explanation of the difficulty authors meet in seeking the theater market for their one-act plays is due to the lack of atmosphere in the plays offered.

There is little that is new in the general form of the one-act play, much in the sober handling of details of technique. There is as much that is fantastic in modern life as in the life of any era before our own, but Mr. Yeats would seem to be in error when he exclaims, "I am certain that everywhere literature will return once more to its old extravagant, phantastical expression, for in literature, unlike science, there are no discoveries, and it is always the old that returns." What is new in drama is only in small measure significance of form, but in large measure newness of life, though, after all, of the "audible and visible surfaces of life" rather than new depths of psychological experience. The great and difficult art of the one-act play, so hard to learn by the beginner, is to keep action moving; and as the time is so short, the space so small, the action in this form must be chiefly mental, spiritual, and leading, not forcing us to realize its reality by its intensity. To ask of the one-act play, as a contemporary does, that it reveal a large mind, a great imagination, and a profound criticism of life, is to ask what the long play has revealed; but the writer of the *good* one-act play should not have demanded of him that his work speak the language of the absolute. He will write a good play if he possess "an alert intelligence, a keen eye for character, and fine technical instinct,"—if he does not, he will not.

Book Reviews

THE BEAUTIFUL. By Henry Rutgers Marshall. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1924. 328 pp.

This serious-minded rather than serious work on aesthetics makes of beauty a subjective phenomenon, and argues for the psychological approach to the subject as more fruitful and appropriate than the philosophical. It thus announces a general kinship with such a treatment as Santayana's, and its lack of sympathy with the views of Croce or Bosanquet. But while the author places his method, and expresses dissent from and agreement with other writers on the same subject, he is convinced of the fundamental originality of his own achievement. Kant as the great pioneer and man of aesthetic insight among the moderns anticipated some of our author's main contentions—the subjectivity of beauty and its intimate connection with pleasure—but Kant is treated rather as needing correction than as conditioning the growth of a science. And while much is made of Santayana's alleged refutation of the disinterestedness of the aesthetic experience, his conception of beauty as objectified pleasure is pronounced inaccurate. The original and unique definition of beauty which our author proposes is: "Beauty is relatively stable, or real, pleasure. Any pleasant element may become part of the field that is relatively stable. We call an object beautiful which seems always to yield pleasure in impression, or contemplative revival" (p. 78). Ugliness is for him the contradictory of beauty, not its contrary nor a concept in any sense included under beauty. The psychology which is drawn into service as the basis of this aesthetics is not, however, the outworn individualistic and static psychology of early British empiricism. Dr. Marshall makes much of the uses of beauty in strengthening and extending social cohesion. "The function of art in the development of man is social consolidation" (p. 138). As art is social, so is it in process of evolution. An interesting chapter is devoted to "Art as a Development" (Chapter XII) in which the com-

paratively unspecialized quality of artistic effort among the ancient Greeks is contrasted with the present keen sensitiveness to medium and is correlated with the still-existing but archaic combinational art of opera.

Dr. Marshall presses the claim of his own practical experience in art, and this practical familiarity with artistic creation operates at times in his theory as a valuable directing agency: for example, when he urges upon the would-be critic and observer of art the wisdom of "learnng to *sketch* in all the important divisions of the fine arts. . . . Let him make attempt not only to draw or paint, but to model in clay, to design a beautiful exterior for a building from a given plan, to compose some simple music, to write a worthy poem; only then, as he realizes how easy it is to produce the commonplace, and how difficult to create beauty, will he be able to gain a full sympathy with the artist's point of view, and a complete comprehension of his aims, and of the difficulties overcome in his attempts to embody his ideals" (pp. 118, 119). But having once perceived this intimate connection between creation and appreciation, it is difficult to understand why he leans heavily on their utter disparateness later in the book, and why he points to Bosanquet's conception of appreciation as "a faint analogue of the creative rapture of the artist" as a primary fallacy. The trouble is, I think, two-fold. When Dr. Marshall is considering appreciation *per se*, he is too apt to turn to examples that illustrate the passive mood of aesthetic enjoyment—sunsets and rainbows receptively contemplated. He lets slip the fact that enjoyment may require motion, effort, and technique—that it may be concerned with what Bosanquet calls difficult as distinguished from easy beauty. In the second place, Dr. Marshall's strength in knowing something of the practice of art appears to be coupled with the weakness of not knowing from the inside and with the requisite thoroughness certain relevant philosophical ideas, those relating to pleasure, the real, the true, the valid. He is not only weak in his treatment of concepts; his patronizing attitude toward some of the most distinguished traditional and contemporary writers on aesthetics testifies to the insufficiency of

his culture. To cite only one case in point: he charges with vagueness and mysticism the work of Mr. E. F. Carritt, one of the ablest of Croce's admirers and interpreters, and one who has furnished us with an unusually acute analysis of the sublime and the comic. He seems to find confirmation of his stricture in Mr. Carritt's own humble admission, in the final sentence of his *Theory of Beauty*, that he does not pretend to have reached a solution satisfactory even to himself. In view of the complexity of the subject of aesthetics, one can only feel that instead of turning this admission against Mr. Carritt, Mr. Carritt's critic would have benefited by a corresponding feeling of inadequacy.

KATHERINE GILBERT.

THE AMERICAN COLONIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Herbert L. Osgood. Vol. I xxxii, 552 pp, Vol II, 554 pp. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1924.

The late Professor Osgood, of Columbia University, was one of the eminent masters of the colonial period of American history. His three volumes entitled *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* presented such new points of view and set such new standards of judgment that they readily became indispensable for a proper understanding of the British colonies in North America before 1690. These two posthumous volumes, and two to follow them, will command as important a place in the historiography of eighteenth century North America. Certainly that period, with its large number of phenomena and its complex interaction of forces, local and imperial, has hitherto not received in any one work such elaborate or skillfully organized treatment. It was the epoch of the royal province, of growing imperial interests in colonization, of increasing and expanding population, and also of almost constant warfare. The organization and presentation of the evidence relating to its institutional and political life required the hand of a master—and that requirement has been fully met in the present volumes.

The exterior lines of presentation are those of military conflict and the years of peace. The chronological land marks are the colonial wars and the intervals between them. But the interior lines of presentation are the trends of British policy and colonial politics. The organs of imperial control, mercantilism and its application—such is the theme from the angle of British interest; but there are also the repercussions of colonial politics, and each colony fits into the scene as a distinct personality. Nowhere in all the literature of American history can there be found such a two-fold presentation so ably presented. The volumes are the masterpiece of this generation in the field of American colonial history.

Yet the outstanding feature of the work is not the vast array of information nor its organization; rather it is that the author has a certain imagination and a certain insight regarding a theme not included in his program,—that theme we may call imperialism versus nationalism. The conflict between the French and English interests in America was not the choice of the colonists, but a compulsion of European policy. "Had it not been for Europe and a group of Jesuits and other religious fanatics on the French side, and of Puritans, chiefly resident in New England, on the other side, when the combatants met they might have fraternized across the lines. What interest had the Dutch traders and land speculators of New York, or the Quakers and pietists of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, or the Catholics of Maryland in fighting the French?" But goading the colonists to action were the ruling powers. "The officials on both sides were continually prodding the colonists and drafting them, under one form or another, into war. The clergy were adding their exhortations and benediction and were assuming that their tribal god, on either side, was blessing their respective enterprises." Left to themselves the English, French and Spanish settlers would have lived in peace and friendly rivalry. Had this been so, "American civilization would have been enriched by the cultures of three great nationalities, working together in friendly rivalry to develop each its peculiar genius and the products to which their endowments naturally gave rise." Instead, "we have spread over the vast

bulk of the continent a polyglot Anglo-American type of civilization, developed with very little competition from outside, and certainly suffering from lack of depth, variety and beauty."

Such conclusions are to the reviewer the distinctive feature of these volumes. Coming from one whose interests were primarily in political and institutional rather than cultural history, they have great weight. They indicate two things; one, that the American policy of isolation from things European has a remote and deep root; second, that those whose minds are engaged in the impartial search for truth, though their approaches be from angles far different, often drift toward the same conclusion. There is nothing to indicate that Mr. Osgood was tainted with the more recent radical thought regarding international relations or the nature of nationalism, but how well do his criticisms fit in with the more advanced criticism of European politics, past and present!

WM. K. BOYD.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CLEOPATRA, QUEEN OF EGYPT. By Arthur Weigall. New and revised edition. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1924. x + 445 pp.

THE LIFE AND DEATH OF CLEOPATRA. By Claude Ferval. Translated by M. E. Poindexter. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1924. vii + 321 pp.

Cleopatra has always held first place among the fair and fascinating women of the world. The Queen of Sheba is remote and vague, with a veil of crude tradition about her. Helen of Troy is a tragic figure, somewhat too august to enjoy popular favor. Aspasia is unknown; Iseult belongs to another world; and Héloïse is a woman of learning more than romance. The others, of a lower order, may interest but they do not cast a spell. Only Cleopatra has the mad gaiety, the recklessness, the glorious abandon to purple passion that satisfy the romantic imagination. She alone played love as a game with empires for pawns; she alone gave all for love and lost heroically, with a gesture, as great lovers should. Altogether she is a perfect representative of Oriental splendor and Oriental passion.

But this Cleopatra of course never existed. She is a creature of the poets and of our resistless enthusiasm for picturing what we should like to be or to have. The historical Cleopatra was a small woman, of pure Greek blood, charming but probably not beautiful, headstrong and wilful, but shrewd and ambitious also. Her connection with Caesar was founded as much on political sagacity as on love, though Caesar, already becoming an old man when he first saw her, still had a mighty way with the sex. Upon Caesar's later years she exerted a strong influence and thus quite directly upon the last years of the Roman republic as well. When he was Dictator of the Egypto-Roman world she was his queen: her son Caesarion would be ruler of Europe and Africa. And after Caesar's death her ambition was an important indirect influence in forming Antony's opposition to Octavian and more generally in determining certain movements during the early period of the Empire.

Mr. Weigall's volume is subtitled, very appropriately, "A Study in the Origin of the Roman Empire," for he paints his heroine against an heroic-sized background. Although in many respects a piece of special pleading, and not exactly the rehabilitation of Cleopatra that he claims it to be (for the Cleopatra of Shakespeare, though *she* has colored the popular conception, has long been well known to be historically inaccurate—as inaccurate as Mr. Shaw's!), this *Life* is entertaining and for the most part trustworthy. To be sure, it is one man's interpretation, based upon such special knowledge as is now obtainable, but in what concerns the larger historical setting its judgments seem (to one who must speak under correction) reasonably secure; in what concerns Cleopatra's private life it is bound to rely upon early tradition and modern imagination—which one may take for what they are worth.

Readers who still enjoy the simple school-book picture of Julius Caesar as a great general and a writer of military memoirs will have an opportunity to add some surprising features to the portrait. And those who have thought of Antony merely as a general and a great lover whose passion was all but ennobled by its excess may see him as he was—a practical joker,

a roisterer, friend of actors and actresses, as well as a man of many fine qualities; a reckless liver from his earliest youth, and in later life one who wore his purple with a bit of motley.

Mr. Weigall's book is a blend of history and biography; M. Ferval's is a blend of history and romance. He calls it "another taper to light the mysterious ways of that wonderful woman, who, with a lotus flower in her hand, still stands with Antony, weaving the enchanting mists of romance and breathing the warm breath of passion over the crumbling ruins of the world." As an historical novel it is agreeable and in parts vivid, without being anywhere distinguished or original. One may choose between these two on grounds of personal taste—Mr. Weigall for those who prefer their history plain, M. Ferval for those who prefer it colored.

P. F. BAUM.

CONTEMPORARY CRITICISMS OF DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, HIS WORKS, AND HIS BIOGRAPHIES. Collected and edited by John Ker Spittal. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1923.

A slight tardiness in taking cognizance of the appearance of this book may perhaps be pardoned when it is remembered that its contents were first published more than a hundred and fifty years ago. There are but a one-page preface and a handful of footnotes by Mr. Spittal; the rest is lifted bodily from the pages of *The Monthly Review*, a periodical which first appeared in 1749, two years after the publication of the great *Dictionary*, and which continued through the remainder of Johnson's life and for some years after his death.

The Monthly Review was not a magazine of great importance or weight in its own day or since. Boswell quotes Johnson as saying in 1767 that of the two "literary" journals then published in the kingdom, "the *Monthly Review* was done with most care, the *Critical* [founded in 1756 in opposition, and more important because edited by Smollett] upon the best principles," and again that "the *Critical* Reviewers, I believe, often review without reading the books through; but lay hold of a topic and write chiefly from their own minds. The *Monthly*

Reviewers are duller men, and are glad to read the books through." The term "literary" must here be taken to mean "critical," for of course Johnson knew and revered *The Gentleman's Magazine* only too well, and, as author of *The Rambler*, was hardly ignorant of the existence of the *Scots Magazine*, the *London Magazine*, and other miscellaneous repositories and periodical essays then appearing regularly.

The significance of these papers rests therefore in the mere fact that their authors recognized the importance of Dr. Samuel Johnson and gave many of their pages to quotations from and comments on most of the things written by or about him during the time that the magazine flourished. Practically every important life or commentary on Johnson appearing during the first ten years after his death, including of course that of Boswell, as well as the two *Tours to the Hebrides*, the remarks thereon by the Rev. Donald M'Nichol, the *Lives of the English Poets*, Johnson's edition of Shakespeare with Malone's supplement, and various of his political and miscellaneous writings, are reviewed at length. However unimportant the authors of these papers, the mere facts that they were contemporaries and that they gave so generously of their time and thought to "our learned author" are sufficient to warrant them a humble immortality.

As the precursors of the far more distinguished reviewers of the early part of the next century, their method is interesting. It may have been, as Johnson suggests, due to their dullness, but the fact remains that they were supremely tolerant without being altogether uncritical. They usually open their paper with an expression of satisfaction with the book as a whole, and with the author (especially if he be Dr. Johnson himself) in particular. This is followed by a suggestion of some things which might be said in criticism, but such thoughts are rapidly dismissed. Liberal quotations with connecting comment come next and fill several pages, while the paper is usually concluded with a mild criticism, not unmixed with praise, in the tone of, "Well, after all, although many things could be said against it, there is more to be said for it."

It is amusing to note the quandary in which these reviewers find themselves in the case of a purely controversial book such as that of M'Nichol on Johnson's *Tour*. Their obvious desire to be fair to all parties leads them into some trouble, but in the end they remain loyal to Johnson and deprecate his critics, although allowing some justice in certain of their criticisms. Their final estimate of Johnson is that, although he needs pardon for the uncouthness of his manners and his foolishness in allowing some of Boswell's quotations, he is the great sage of the day and must be revered above all other men; of Boswell that he is indiscreet but is a consummate artist and a master of his medium. Such comment is not so penetrating as it is praiseworthy.

Mr. Spittal needs have no "fear and trembling" in presenting his anthology of secondary criticism to the public. It must become and remain a joy to those who can appreciate a by-path of literature, especially when it is joined so closely to one of the greatest of highways.

ROBERT SPILLER.

Swarthmore College.

SHELLEY IN GERMANY. By Solomon Liptzin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924. 97 pp.

It is a strange fact that the development of Shelley's reputation, which furnishes a really significant side-light on nineteenth-century social and literary history, has not yet been thoroughly traced in England, although its growth both in Italy and Germany has recently been set forth. Mr. Liptzin traces Shelley's influence in Germany from the earliest attention he received, when Kotzebue in 1814 presented an English traveller with a volume of *Queen Mab*, on down to the present post-Revolutionary period, which he thinks propitious for another Shelley revival. We find that in Germany Shelley was first the insignificant tail to Byron's kite; then, for Young Germany, a John the Baptist to the new freedom—martyr, exemplar, and prophet. In the 1850's and 1860's came a reaction against Shelley, born of the disillusionment of 1848. Follow-

ing this reaction, since utopias were inconsistent with blood and iron, Shelley became a poetic hero and flourished in the novels of Büchner and Wilhelm Hamm and the tragedy by Emil Claar. The emphasis here is on Shelley's life rather than his ideas, and biographical accuracy suffers woefully at the hands of artistic license. The last phase—the revival of the 1880's, is mainly one of scholarly and critical interest. Here Mr. Liptzin's book barely escapes degenerating into a descriptive bibliography.

It is a pity that Mr. Liptzin, writing of Shelley's reputation in Germany, pays no attention to its contemporary phases in England. This omission robs the volume, helpful as it is within the limits chosen, of much that would illuminate facts which otherwise stand out as singular and isolated phenomena. In England, as in Germany, Shelley's fortuitous connection with Byron was the cause of much of the early attention accorded him. As in Germany, there was the same tendency, a little later, to dispute on the comparative merits of the two poets. There was for a time an extensive interest in Shelley by English working-class radicals which apparently had no parallel in Germany. Young Germany in its enthusiasm for Shelley had a milder counterpart in the attitude of the English radical reviews and the Cambridge Apostles. Even the age of indifference and reaction toward Shelley in Germany finds something of a parallel in England in the period during which Trelawney wrote to Jane Clairemont that the public was really indifferent to Shelley and that no book on Shelley had paid expenses. It would seem that some research into the English phases of Shelley's reputation and some attention to their possible interrelations with German phases was essential to give Mr. Liptzin's book the larger authority and usefulness that were within its possibilities. As it stands, the book is simply another bit of thesis writing, rather slight, as theses go, but fairly adequate within its limits. It is best in its discussions of Shelley and Young Germany and in its examination of the various translations, particularly those of Count von Schack and Julius Seybt.

N. I. WHITE.

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Floyd Henry Allport. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. xiv, 453 pp.

Practically all of the early books on social psychology were written from the standpoint of the sociologist and dealt with psychology as if it were a science of the "group" or "social" mind. In this volume we have presented the standpoint of the psychologist of the behavioristic school. The emphasis is upon the individual and his behavior in reaction to his contacts with his fellow beings.

The book as a whole is intended as a text for classes in social psychology and as such the subject matter is excellently organized and arranged. Part one deals with the fundamental principles of psychology and should give the student a sufficient general foundation for part two which deals with social behavior. The language of the author is simple and effective. The work should provide interesting reading matter for the general student as well as the student of the special subjects of psychology and sociology. The chapter summaries, the general summary of each part, and the references are especially helpful and effective.

The work throughout is characterized by its distinctly scientific approach to the subject and in this respect is almost in a class by itself. It is a distinct contribution in this field. Its plain speaking in regard to Freudian psychology is wholesome and helpful. To some there may seem to be an overemphasis of the sex drive in social relationship, yet it is time that the vast importance of this phase of social life should be emphasized.

In reading the volume one becomes curious to know what is the author's opinion of the social function of play among children. Coöperative play among children seems to be the foundation of many later social reactions and yet the author nowhere touches upon this phase of human life.

While the sociologist may wish to expand the material in the last part of the book, on the whole it is a sane and much needed treatment of the whole subject of social psychology. Those who plan to introduce this subject to classes would do well to investigate the merits of Dr. Allport's book.

A. M. PROCTOR.

A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN DRAMA—FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE CIVIL WAR. By Arthur Hobson Quinn. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1923. 486 pp.

Between the somewhat far separated red covers of Arthur Hobson Quinn's book, *The American Drama*, there is an almost amazing accumulation of information which some later writer will doubtless use freely in the writing of a more tangible account of our early drama. Considering that this book is the first attempt to cover with thoroughness the voluminous and all but unknown drama that existed prior to 1860, it is not surprising that at times the results seem confused and indiscriminate. First efforts to unearth a whole drama and to present it systematically can never prove wholly satisfactory. We can only be grateful that someone master of the technique of investigation undertook with German thoroughness the task of exhuming our early plays and of gathering with painstaking minuteness the facts connected with them. For this part of the work no praise can be excessive.

In the matter of systematization, however, the work is less successful. Biographies, plots and facts succeed one another relentlessly with discouraging fidelity to chronology. And through it all are scattered the meanings and interpretations which the author intends shall illuminate it. To be sure, when it is possible Professor Quinn has taken an outstanding dramatist and grouped about him all his lesser contemporaries; yet this gives but little relief, since one is apt to be less aware of the author than of the endless succession of plays which come in for a few lines like plots in the *Reader's Digest of Books*. Perhaps if the plays with their plots and other material pertinent to them had been listed chronologically under their authors in an appendix, and if the chapters of the book had been reserved for discussion and explanation, a clarity would have resulted that would prove a definite gain for the student as well as for the general reader.

Least satisfactory of all from some standpoints is the critical side of the book. Much close reading in the older drama has taught Professor Quinn that it has been too casually disposed of as banal or uncouth by the commentators who have either

never adequately read it or who have gone to it ignorant of its background and with preconceived ideas of what it should be. To offset this he has gone to the other extreme and weakened his case by praises too much in the superlative and by apparently glossing over the necessary condemnations. As a result those works and men whom he has reappraised at their true value make but faint impressions upon us, and good-natured skepticism is aroused instead of conviction. He speaks, seemingly, of nearly everybody's blank verse as being flexible and otherwise worthy. There are quotations at great length to prove the high merit of our neglected drama which do not always persuade, although there are others that surprise us by their excellence. In the latter cases we suspect them of being purple patches selected by a too fond enthusiast; yet they are frequently genuinely representative. Moreover, as the book now stands, it is a vast aggregation of factual information, scholarly and impersonal, so that the lines of sudden irritation with what he considers the stupid misunderstanding of the early plays, and those lines which voice more emotional disapproval and assertion, inject, a startling personal note of partisanship somewhat disconcerting to the reader.

However, in spite of all this, Professor Quinn has performed a valuable and enduring critical service for the early drama in his book. From now on there will be a sounder understanding of the invironments which gave rise to the plays and, consequently, a more intelligent appreciation of the plays themselves. Never again can we be quite so contemptuous of the past. The wedge has been inserted which, it is to be hoped, will result in the same sympathy and conscious effort to understand being given the early American play which has been accorded the less brilliant stretches of European, and even Asiatic, drama.

H. GOODFELLOW.

WASHINGTON'S SOUTHERN TOUR, 1791. By Archibald Henderson. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1923. xxviii, 340 pp.

This is a third edition of President Washington's Diary of his tour of the southern states, the first having been published some years since by Benjamin J. Lossing, and the second in

1920 by Mr. J. A. Hoskins. The value of Dr. Henderson's edition consists in its excellent illustrations and its editorial notes. A careful and thorough search in a number of libraries and institutions disclosed many portraits of individuals and pictures of places which are reproduced, while a minute investigation of materials relating to politics and social conditions of the time has made possible the excellent introduction and the illuminating editorial notes. Indeed, such a wealth of illustration and such profusion of notes give the work a distinctive place among the many books of travel in America; it needs must take its place as an indispensable reference for intensive studies in the life and politics of the last decade of the eighteenth century. However on one point a cavil must be filed, viz;—that there are certain omissions in the text and for a complete copy of the *Diary* one must turn to the less pretentious volume of Mr. Hoskins.

W. K. B.

THE AMERICAN STATES DURING AND AFTER THE REVOLUTION, 1775-1789.
By Allan Nevins. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. ix,
728 pp.

As the author indicates in his preface this book is a synthesis—a summary and an interpretation based very largely on state histories, biographies and monographs, supplemented by considerable use of newspapers and pamphlets, and statutes. The period chosen and the subject matter give the work a far greater value than if some other period and subject matter had been chosen. For beyond a doubt the history of the United States from 1775 to 1789 has been generally written from the angle of war and the efforts to unite the states into a nation; yet war and aspirations to nationality were complicated by and were dependent upon conditions within the state, and hitherto no one has attempted a broad generalization of those conditions.

The major themes are a description of the state constitutions and state politics, a sketch of social conditions, reforms, a presentation of financial policies, a summary of interstate relations and of the relations between the states and the Continental Congress. In no other volume can there be found such an array of details on these important questions; indeed the mul-

tiplicity of details overshadows questions of interpretation. Yet this is wise, for not until still more facts are disclosed can any safe interpretation of state policies be made. Herein too lies the real value of the work; it indicates numerous lines for further investigation, and as a companion to that investigation and as a reference on the subjects treated it deserves a unique place on the historical reference shelf.

W. K. B.

COLONIAL WOMEN OF AFFAIRS. By Elizabeth Anthony Dexter. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924. 204 pp.

In this twentieth century of ours we hear much of the many fields of activity in which women are making a place for themselves and to some it seems a new social manifestation. But now and again an historian or an archaeologist opens a new window onto the past and we catch a glimpse of the learned ladies, politicians, business and professional women of an olden time, and we wonder whether after all the women of to-day are so more free or so more enterprising than those of yore.

Mrs. Dexter gives us such a glimpse into the lives of the women of the American colonies. The women of "tongue, pen and printer's ink," actresses, preachers, writers, printers and editors, are better known than the many nurses, school-dames, artificers, merchants, tavern-keepers and landed proprietors whom Mrs. Dexter has discovered in her study of colonial diaries, journals, newspapers and other sources. It is in her account of these activities, incomplete as it is, that she has made a contribution of especial value to the social and economic history of the colonies.

To enumerate the enterprises in which these women engaged would be to touch almost every business of the day. Many businesses were inherited by widows or orphans who courageously shouldered the task left by husband or father. Some were initiated by the women themselves. Their variety is amazing, but only a few can be mentioned here. There were women who kept drug stores, where remedies "'Chymical and Gallenical'" were sold, book stores, seed and vegetable stores,

tobacco shops, cleaning and dyeing establishments, bakeries. The advertisements of some of the latter sound like those of a modern delicatessen shop. There were women who made and sold chocolate, men's clothes, cosmetics, rope and nets, coffee pots and braziers of all sorts, as well as millinery, laces, fans and "black bags and roses for gentlemen's hair or wigs"; who cured fish, caned chairs, made spinning-wheels, imported wines, spectacles, glass and china, and all manner of furniture and finery. A Mrs. Quick of Boston had so flourishing a business that she imported £1500 of goods in one month. Women owned and managed wharves and advertised indented servants. One Mrs. De Vries of Staten Island established an early packet line between Europe and the New World, serving as her own supercargo. She, like many a modern ship owner, was accused of charging too high rates and furnishing too poor accommodations. Another enterprising New Yorker had her whaling vessels which brought her many barrels of "eyle" in a season.

Nor did engaging in business seem to affect one's social position in those olden days. Mrs. Alexander of New York had so large and successful a provision house that she received a contract for provisioning the troops in the French and Indian wars. She it was who built the first side-walk in the city in order that her customers might the more easily reach her store. But nevertheless she was a social leader of great influence.

It was in the northern and middle colonies that the woman artificer and merchant seem chiefly to have flourished. In the middle and southern colonies there were women who were landed proprietors and occasionally they had much initiative and business acumen. Among the most interesting women mentioned by Mrs. Dexter was Miss Eliza Lucas of South Carolina who did "love the vegetable world extreemly." As a young girl and throughout her married life as Mrs. Pinckney she experimented in seed raising and in the development of new and better crops. To her was due the success of indigo in the South.

One is loath to stop without mentioning the women who successfully edited newspapers and did the official printing for their colonies, the devoted Quaker preachers who traveled so widely, and mine hostesses of the tavern.

Mrs. Dexter has, as she herself says, but made a beginning in this field and can come to no statistical conclusions. That women were engaged more frequently than has been supposed in professions and in industries other than those of the colonial household she has proven beyond a doubt. Mrs. Dexter has made good use of that fertile field of the historian, the newspaper. Her book has careful footnotes, a bibliography and glossary, but unfortunately it lacks an index. Her pleasant style, the numerous delightful quotations, and the well-chosen illustrations make the book of special interest to the general reader.

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THE OIL TRUSTS AND ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. By E. H. Davenport and Sidney Russell Cooke. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924. xii, 272 pp.

It is not easy to be altogether sure whether this volume is a disinterested plea for an oil policy on the part of Great Britain and the United States which will make for better international relations, or whether it is skilfully disguised propaganda designed to benefit some British oil interests other than the Anglo-Persian Oil company. But while I confess myself incompetent to pronounce a definite judgment upon that question, I can say that, even if the book is propaganda for some special interest, it presents many ideas of public value.

Beginning with a sketch of the development of British oil policy during the last twenty years—a policy which culminated under Winston Churchill in the British government's taking over shares and naming directors in the Anglo-Persian Oil Company—the authors proceed to a condemnation of such government participation and an exposure of the fallacy of the British article of faith which holds that upon ownership or control of oil resources depends control of the sea in time of war. The fact is, as they show convincingly enough, just the converse: the nation that controls the sea will in time of war have all necessary command of oil resources. All that is necessary is a sufficient reserve to start with.

The second part of the book deals with American policy, especially since the war. It is interesting, in the light of recent

revelations of the work of our Interior Department, to find here, from a wholly independent source and prior in date to the recent investigations, the charge that Secretary Fall's international oil policy was directed by Standard Oil and bolstered up by certain alleged British documents which have since been shown to be forgeries. The authors denounce the backing by the United States government of very questionable oil rights in Northern Persia and elsewhere. This part of the book leaves much to be desired in the way of definite proof. However plausible many of its conclusions may be, they are too largely based upon inference and doubtful circumstantial evidence.

The danger of international friction arising when governments identify themselves too closely with rival oil interests occupies much of the concluding portion, and the authors close with a plea for "a thorough freedom of competition between privately owned oil companies." "Let America and Britain come together on this basis, let them agree that it is unwise the one to hold Standard Oil views and the other to hold Anglo-Persian shares, and they will do much to eliminate for all time this element of disturbance to the world's peace."

There are several appendices giving statistics of the world's oil production and oil resources, and two useful maps, one showing the oil areas of the world, the other the producing oil fields of the Middle East.

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